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Berisha Notes 'Very Good' Relations With NATO

AU1810120295 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Oct 95

[Report by Reis Cico]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] At his news conference [in Tirana] at noon today President Sali Berisha devoted a significant place to his visit to Brussels. Berisha praised the visit as a further step strengthening our country's cooperation with the EU. Berisha then focused on his meeting with NATO Secretary General Willy Claes and underlined the very good relations between Albania and NATO. [passage omitted]

Imprisoned Nano To Head PS Election Commission

AU1810113795 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Oct 95

[Report by Timo Luto]

[FBIS Translated Text] The date when the Socialist Party [PS] second congress is to be held will be determined after a presidential decree announcing next elections is issued. The PS election commission will be led by its chairman Fatos Nano. The PS is ready for an alliance with other parties before and after the elections. These were the main topics put forward by PS Secretary General Gramoz Ruci and which were approved at today's meeting of the PS Steering Committee.

The PS congress will be held in two phases. The first phase will start before the elections with the approval of the party electoral program and its candidates for deputies. The second phase, with the same delegates, will be held after the elections. The topics discussed will depend on the results of these elections.

Starting the electoral campaign so early was considered as something that the party was able to challenge. PS Deputy Chairman Namik Dokle compared the campaign with a marathon, a race in which one cannot run as in the short-distance races of 100 and 200 meters. Until the next elections, the PS will carry out polls and collect data in all constituencies regarding the number of voters and those who voted in their favor in the last elections.

What is being currently spoken in the daily media—a vote of confidence for the PS Presidency members—may have been discussed in the second part of the meeting, whose agenda included internal party problems for discussion. No correspondents or those invited were allowed to attend this session.

PSSh Urges Saving Country From PD 'Thieves'

AU1810080295 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 11 Oct 95 p 3

[Article by E. Elini: "Dokle: Let's Save Albania From Berisha's Thieves"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday's meeting of the Socialist Party [PSSh] Deputy Chairman Dokle and PSSh Tirana Chairman Ulqini with the Socialists of Tirana District 3 was more than a meeting; it was a presentation of PSSh alternatives which three days ago Berisha denied existed. From the very beginning of his speech Dokle considered the denial of socialist alternatives to be a tendency of Berisha's clan to apply a conflicting policy and to make use of the possibilities Berisha himself considers advantageous to the clan he leads together with Prime Minister Meksi. In the presence of 600 Socialists from the capital, Dokle once more reiterated the PSSh political refrain according to which this party is considered the dominating force in the Albanian political scene.

"The PSSh will win more than 53 percent of the votes in Tirana," said Dokle, referring to the latest socialist survey in the capital. Deputy Chairman Dokle said that "we will count all Berisha's wheat grains one by one [as published], because the PSSh is not the party Berisha is thinking of, a party without alternatives. Berisha thinks that the PSSh has no alternatives and will steal the customs as the Meksi government is doing, which in a period of eight months lost $22 million, i.e., $7 million more than the entire gold stolen by the Germans [in World War II]." The socialist deputy chairman told the PSSh members and sympathizers that his party "anticipates" all Berisha's plans which aim at prolonging Berisha's power for a little while.

"The PSSh knew that Berisha would propose elections to be held in May," Dokle said. A few days before in the presence of [Democratic Party Deputy Chairman] Ali Spahia and other Democratic Party [PD] representatives, he stated the same thing to the president of Bavarian legislature. The key item of the PSSh policy remains the imprisoned Socialist leader Nano. His future was again at the center of Dokle's speech, and he did not hesitate to attack the PD and Berisha. "As the PD members themselves admit, from Bencha prison Fatos Nano has taken the power away from Sali Berisha. Berisha wants to do justice through some Qeleshi's and Dervishi's [prosecutors of Nano's case], but he cannot do justice with them because Nano won the case when 700,000 Albanians signed the petition for his release," said Dokle.

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"The free vote of the people is better than the tanks," Dokle continued referring to the referendum incidents, when "the state mechanism did not succeed in manipulating the votes of the people."

On the other hand, Dokle said that, "Albania is being stolen by the owners of PD membership cards. Therefore, the PSSh electoral slogan will be: Let us save Albania from Berisha's thieves."

During yesterday's meeting the Socialists, besides announcing their alternatives denied by Berisha, aimed at revealing the "humane" dimension of the PD and state leader which, as Dokle pointed out, "does not go any farther than Berisha's nose."

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Commentary Urges Unity Despite West's 'Pressure'

AU1710182495 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 12 Oct 95 p 7

[Commentary by Vasil Popov: "Politicians Should Lead Us Toward Europe Together"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Two consecutive meetings of the Consultative Council on National Security showed that politicians can reach a consensus on problems that are decisive for the country's future. They all support taking Bulgaria's name off the negative list. In addition, they all support joining the New Forum Organization, also known as neo-COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] or post-COCOM.

During the first of the two meetings, President Zhelev tried to advocate the thesis that we are threatened by international isolation. The reason, according to him, is the socialist government in Bulgaria. Naturally, Prime Minister Zhan Videnov opposed the thesis and it was withdrawn almost without a quarrel. This curious nuance did not impress anyone, and it is even not necessary to comment on it.

The second meeting took place in an unexpectedly smooth manner, peacefully, and quietly, half of the participants claim. The other half claim that Zhelev and Videnov quarreled because of the Kozloduy nuclear power plant. Whether there has really been a rift is a matter that remained behind the walls of the gray house on Dondukov Street [the Presidency], and this is good.

However, the application of the new system of multilateral control over the export of weapons and productions and technologies, which could have a dual application—military and civilian—including the field of the nuclear power supply, should begin on 1 January 1996. The "New Forum" that inherits COCOM, which was created in Geneva in 1949, adopted the new system in September 1995 in a small village near The Hague. On the same occasion, Russia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary were admitted to the organization. It will become clear in December whether there will be 28 members of this organization or whether Bulgaria will join as the 29th member.

During the meeting at the Presidency, the conclusion was reached that we are interested in an equal participation in the multilateral regimes of export control over the high technologies and special production.

Indeed, Bulgaria has so far not been accused by anyone of any violations in this field. The fact that from time to time, a Western newspaper sees a Bulgarian connection in any capsule with radioactive components is a part of the general discriminatory campaign, and it does not impress anyone, except some of our home grown politicians. Most of the European countries favorably view our admission to the New Forum, a deputy and member of the Commission on National Security thinks.

However, the United States and Germany are applying pressure on us to curb our contacts with states whose regimes have been declared terrorist, like North Korea, Iraq, and so on. According to observers, this pressure is being applied by U.S. Ambassador Montgomery, who is directly utilizing President Zhelyu Zhelev for this purpose.

The position of the Germans, who criticize us because of the Kozloduy nuclear power plant and its first reactor, is foggier. Those familiar with high-stake games think that Germany is perhaps concerned with the fact that the German market space will suffer if Bulgaria sells cheaper electric power to Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and even beyond, to Italy.

One could say that this is their problem, if the problems of the big ones do not affect the small ones in a murderous manner. This is especially so when the political pressure is prompted by purely economic considerations. However, our problem has yet another aspect: When something is being agreed upon at the big gray house, our politicians should not speak in different voices outside the house.

Committee Chief Criticizes G-7 Note on Kozloduy

AU1810084495 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 13 Oct 95 p 5

[Interview with Yanko Yanev, chairman of the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, by Mariya Andonova; place and date not given: "The Same Firm Inspects Both Our Reactors and the U.S. Ones"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Andonova] What is your personal assessment of the G-7 demarche?

[Yanev] I do not know whether the pressure is being applied for political reasons or for some other reason. Certain interests want to stop Bulgaria operating this type of reactor. In 1991 real reasons existed for this, but a great number of improvements have been made since then.

[Andonova] Was the time chosen—just before the onset of winter—just a coincidence?

[Yanev] I cannot comment on this, it is a matter for the politicians. However, the attacks on reactors of this type have never ceased, they come in successive waves.

Certain people have adopted a policy, and no one has revoked it, namely to get these reactors closed down.

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At the G-7 meeting in Munich in 1992, it was decided that this should happen as soon as possible, without making any improvements to the reactors that might inspire thoughts about continuing to operate them over the long term. For this reason, the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant was not recommended to install the quick-acting valves that the EU experts had advised in a signed report. Yet now we receive the message: "We regret that you have not installed them." Oh dear, there must be some reason behind all this.

[Andonova] Who is carrying out the checks on the reactor shell?

[Yanev] The inspection of the shell was carried out by a company that inspects the U.S. reactors, namely Inetec. This is a very serious company that uses the most advanced equipment in the world.

Now the G-7 comes along and says: "We do not trust the quality of the analyses." Well then, why do then not also shed doubt on the quality of the analyses carried out on countless U.S. reactors. This is tantamount to saying that the analyses that Inetec carries out in the United States are good, but the ones that it does at Kozloduy are bad.

[Andonova] What other proof is needed to demonstrate that the reactor is in good order?

[Yanev] I am ready to discuss all possibilities, including speeding up the procedure for providing additional proof, if it is needed. However, this is achieved by means of talks, not by making obscure threats, such as suggesting that "a Chernobyl-type disaster is threatening Europe." Our reactor has nothing in common with the ones at Chernobyl, neither in its design nor in its operation.

[Andonova] Which of the ambassadors are already adopting a more reasonable position?

[Yanev] All of them are exhibiting a reasonable position. The only question is to find a solution, and one will be found.

'Uniform Position' Urged

AU1710140095 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 13 Oct 95 p 7

[Commentary by Panteley Karasimeonov: "European Energy Shock for Bulgaria"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday we understood that the European Parliament joined the anti-Bulgarian campaign fanned in recent days in connection with restarting the first reactor of the Kozloduy nuclear power plant. The way things look it appears that the Bulgarian nuclear power plant is about to acquire the sad reputation of the "Bulgarian umbrella" or the fabricated attempt against the Pope. Some people who have difficulty pronouncing the name of the our nuclear power plant even call it "Chernobyl II."

It is difficult to understand why precisely the European deputies undertook the mission of disturbing Bulgaria, and why a group of conservative parliament members resorted to the extreme procedure of putting the draft resolution in question on the agenda for the session. It is logical to ask who is interested in voting on such a document without conducting any study mission on the part of the European Parliament, as the normal practice of such institutions is. The Bulgarian side was not given the opportunity at the European Parliament to defend the decision to restart the first reactor, something which is only appropriate. Perhaps this is how one should explain the unanimity with which the document was adopted.

We understand well that this resolution, as well as any other resolution of the European Parliament, does not commit any of the governments of the 15 EU countries, and that nothing will follow yesterday's vote. However, I do not underestimate the political importance of this document, which presents our nuclear power plant in a distorted light. The categorical tone of the resolution sounds rather disturbing, and it appears that it has been prepared rather rapidly. Bulgaria has been accused of threatening the security of all European countries. This allows the five proposers of the resolution to demand, no less, the immediate stoppage of the first reactor. This time Bulgaria cannot be accused of not acting according to the rules of glasnost, and of not making efforts at all levels to convince the G-7 and all concerned partners of the safety of the first reactor. This is not an indication of some paranoia, but the simple Bulgarian would logically begin to think that certain foreign interests are involved in the Kozloduy case, and that someone deliberately wants to put the country in the situation of a power collapse. Our responsible representatives warn that if we succumb to the demand of the West to stop the first reactor, there will most likely follow a demand to close the other reactors too. Woe to the Bulgarians during the winter if this happens!

The uniform position of the parliament, presidency, and government is very important at this moment. It will show our Western partners that when necessary, we know how to protect our national interests.

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Reactors 'Obsolete,' 'Dangerous'

AU1710181595 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 14 Oct 95 p 3

[Commentary by Edvin Sugarev: "There Is Something Rotten at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The note of the G-7, vilified and ignored by the Bulgarian Government, proved to be only the beginning. The European Parliament unanimously adopted a resolution that demanded stopping the first reactor of the Kozloduy nuclear power plant. The question is what shall we do now? Perhaps since we used to speak about the so-called G-7, we should start speaking about the so-called European deputies? Let us declare the European Parliament a collective agent of Western nuclear magnates who want to eliminate Russia from the nuclear plants market. Why not say that we are the victim of economic interests and that others want to destroy our future as a Balkan power center? Why not call for "national consensus" in defense of an emasculated old nuclear grandfather? Or perhaps we should beat our hairy chest and give the finger to Europe and its parliament members, because we could cope without them, just as we can cope without their financial institutions, NATO, common house, and....

Now the questions that should be asked are with whom and how. For example, how are we going to patch up our tattered budget and revive our dying economy? Is Big Brother Ivan going to help our decapitated power economy? Where are we going to find the loans we need to pay for the foreign debt caused by the billions that the Communists stole? Perhaps we should again announce a moratorium on our foreign debt as Lukanov did. And what is the cost of statements, such as the one by Yanko Yanev [chairman of the Committee on Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy], according to which the G-7 note violates the Bulgarian legislation, or the statement by Nikolay Kamov [chairman of the National Assembly Commission on Foreign Policy], who called the resolution a "document that has no real meaning for Bulgaria?"

What were we actually asked to do? We were asked to carry out tests that guarantee the reactor's safety. Our answer was to blackmail our people—if we stop the reactor, there will be an electricity shortage. France offered us 400 megawatts of electricity free of charge if we would only stop the reactor and take metal samples. Why did we pretend not to hear the offer? One does not have to be Hamlet to perceive the answer—because there is something rotten at the Kozloduy nuclear power plant, because this power plant has been planned on the basis of the obsolete notions of the 1960's, because there is no safe protection shell, because it has been overused in an ignorant manner, because its design is outdated, because hundreds of design changes have been made during its installation, and because it is dangerous. The world does not want a second Chernobyl. If there are some people who forgot that after the Chernobyl accident our children were forced to participate in rallies under the nuclear cloud, should we all really forget?

Gechev Claims Economy 'Emerging' From 'Crisis'

AU1810084595 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 17 Oct 95

[Report by Tsetska Nikolova from Pleven]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bulgarian economy is emerging from the crisis: This is what Deputy Prime Minister Rumen Gechev told journalists in Pleven today. The facts that Gechev quoted in support of his assertion were the following, and I quote his words: Bulgaria has already achieved a 55-60 percent utilization of its production capacities, while the acceptable figure for developed countries is 80 percent; economic growth exceeds 3 percent; and we have a positive balance of trade, with exports running ahead of imports. Inflation is expected to be a quarter of what it was last year. The government has not taken out a single foreign loan, Gechev said, and is managing to add about $100 million every month to the foreign exchange reserves.

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Izetbegovic: Cease-Fire Increases Chance of Peace

AU1710152495 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 16 Oct 95 p 7

[Interview with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic by Branislav Janik in Prague on 13 October: "Alija Izetbegovic: At the Bottom of the Bosnian Tragedy Are Endeavors To Implement Greater Serbia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On the occasion of the conclusion of the Month of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Czech Republic, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic visited Prague. While in Prague, he presented a talk entitled "The Future of the Multiethnic Coexistence in Bosnia-Herzegovina" in the Rudolfinum hall. After the lecture, we asked him several questions.

[Janik] Mr. President, what would you say is the main reason for the Bosnian tragedy?

[Izetbegovic] There are undoubtedly many reasons, but I consider an attempt to implement Greater Serbia to the detriment of Bosnia to be the main one. Numerous negotiators advised us to avoid the conflict and accept the Serbian dictate. Allegedly, we had no chance in resisting the former Yugoslav Army. Nevertheless, we opted for the confrontation. We really had no other option because otherwise our country and our people were doomed. We saw the only way out in struggle. We simply had to resist the fascist nationalism that knows only one people, the Serbian one, one religion, the orthodox one, and one party, Karadzic's.

[Janik] You are not hiding your exceptions to the policy of the international community regarding this conflict. What are they? Have you noticed any changes in the attitude?

[Izetbegovic] In 1938, European powers ignored their duty and obligations and sacrificed Czechoslovakia. What happened with Bosnia in 1992 is basically the same thing. Regarding the NATO air attacks in August, for instance, one can say only one thing: They were 40 months too late! In the meantime, 200,000 innocent people were murdered, hundreds of towns and villages destroyed, 1,000 minarets and all of the Catholic churches—five and six centuries old—were blown up. More than a million people were cast out of their homes! Nevertheless, the international community imposed on us the scandalous embargo on arms imports, and we stood against the well-armed former Yugoslav Army practically defenseless. The embargo harmed the attack victim, and that extended the war. For a long time, we have not been happy with the policy of the powers. We felt that they are refusing to understand the situation in Bosnia as they actually defended the interests of the aggressor. They seemed not to comprehend that, in Bosnia, it was a matter of genocide of a nation, and there are certain conventions and principles in such a situation that bind the powers to intervene. In Paris, the stand only changed with the accession of President Chirac, who repeatedly referred to the events in Bosnia as an aggression. This apparently influenced the attitude of London, which I visited recently. Today, the British prime minister supports integral Bosnia-Herzegovina with a united Sarajevo. The U.S. diplomacy has been the driving force of the new peace dynamics since the summer. Bonn also understands our problems.

[Janik] You have not mentioned another power, Russia.

[Izetbegovic] Perhaps intentionally. The policy of Moscow has its good and its bad aspects. There are factors we like, and others we like less. Nevertheless, regarding the most essential issue, Russia took a stand that suits us: Moscow supports integral Bosnia-Herzegovina with the capital a united Sarajevo. I am aware of Moscow not yet responding to the U.S. peace plan.

[Janik] The platform for the peace procedures is the Geneva documents. A cease-fire went into effect on 11 October. Do you believe it not to be violated? After all, there is fighting going on near Sanski Most and Banja Luka. Is the cease-fire an irreversible process?

[Izetbegovic] The Bosnian Serb offensive near Sanski Most undoubtedly threatens the cease-fire, and we realize that there will be occasional skirmishes. Nevertheless, there have not been and will not be any initiated by our side. Both sides have good reasons to observe the cease-fire. We want to give the peace process a chance because it is of vital interest to us. The reason for the Serbian side is war exhaustion, and it has been on the defensive recently. Hence, the reasons are different, but I believe the cease-fire will be observed. If, however, the Serbs do not halt their offensive, we will have to respond.

[Janik] Mr. President, are you really convinced that, after peace is reintroduced in Bosnia-Herzegovina, a multiethnic community will live there?

[Izetbegovic] I have no doubt about it, we will revive the multiethnic coexistence. We take as our point of departure that aggression and fascism fighting on one side today, and national liberation struggle and democracy on the other. We will always do what we are doing now, i.e., consistently differentiate between the paramilitary units, chetniks, and the Serbian people, criminals and ordinary folks. Peace will bring about an entirely different economic, political, and social situation. Once the fighting is over, we will be concerned with integration by peaceful means. After all, the Geneva doc-

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ument builds on our forming democracy, guaranteeing human rights and freedoms, the free movement of people, capital, and information. It also means the right of all refugees to return and, on the other hand, punishment of the war criminals. If the international community guarantees the implementation of these conditions, it will also mean the end of the institutions of Serbian fascist nationalism. Democracy, human rights, and civic society will prevail over the concept of the Great Serbian state based on force and exclusiveness.

[Janik] Would you venture to guess when peace will finally come?

[Izetbegovic] I am facing the future with mild optimism. The chances of peace improved tremendously with the signing of the 60-day cease-fire. We are aware of the fact, however, that the peace process will be difficult and take a long time. Many issues—the constitutional arrangement, for instance—remain open. Although a federation project has been discussed, the positions of the two sides are far apart. I want to believe that there will be peace in Bosnia by the end of the year.

Collapse of Pale Regime Predicted

AU1710184595 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 16 Oct 95 p 7

[Interview with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Petr Pravda in Prague; date not given: "One Repercussion of the War Will Be the Collapse of Karadzic's Regime"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic thinks that after three and a half years of war in Bosnia the U.S. decision to end the war has made the greatest contribution to concluding a cease-fire between the warring sides and to the positive developments in the country. During his brief visit to Prague, he granted one interview—to MLADA FRONTA DNES and RESPEKT. He talked about how ineffectual diplomacy not founded on military successes is under Bosnian conditions, the impending Judgment Day for Karadzic's Serbs, and his deep faith in God.

[Pravda] Mr. President, you have been running a country from a besieged city for three and a half years. Have you had any opportunity at all to see the reality of the war in other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina? Have you managed to get beyond the city?

[Izetbegovic] I visit other parts of Bosnia very often. This year alone, I have been to Tuzla, Zenica, Travnik, and to the far north of Bosnia several times.

We have dug a tunnel under Sarajevo airport through which we have kept in touch with the world even when all of the other routes were closed. And it functions to this day.

[Pravda] It is very dangerous to live in Sarajevo. Is it true that, as president, you have had to constantly change your quarters for security reasons?

[Izetbegovic] No, it is not true. I still live in a house right in the city, among ordinary people. I do not live in a palace, just in a small apartment in a small street where there are other apartments. The windows of an apartment belonging to a Serb family are right opposite. When you come to Sarajevo, visit me and I will show you.

[Pravda] How and where does your family live?

[Izetbegovic] I have three children—two daughters and a son—two sons-in-law, and five grandchildren. In our country, we say: When your daughter marries well, you have another son, and when your son marries well, you have a daughter. They all live happily, so I actually have 11 children. They are all still in Sarajevo.

[Pravda] Which days during the war were worst for you? When all of these horrors started or when it seemed several times that the war would come to an end, but then everything just reverted to the old routine?

[Izetbegovic] The first three or four months at the beginning of the war were the most difficult for me. If, however, we had not managed to conclude the current cease-fire, I think the coming winter would have been the worst. We always managed to have at least a little water, electricity, and natural gas. Now, however, we have gone through the whole year virtually completely without natural gas and water. If Sarajevo had to go through the winter under such conditions, I am afraid it would have turned out badly. It would be the most difficult winter not only for us, but probably also in the history of the besieged city. Nevertheless, I believe that we have now managed to resolve this.

[Pravda] Were supplies of water, electricity, and natural gas the main condition for the Sarajevo government to accede to the cease-fire?

[Izetbegovic] Yes, among other things. This was indeed an important condition. But, we had others: opening the road to the enclave of Gorazde, which has been besieged for several years. We also set the condition that the Serbs demilitarize Banja Luka. However, we were unable to promote this in the complicated negotiations we were conducting, so we eventually withdrew this final condition.

[Pravda] Much has changed in the Balkans this year. The Croats have won back the Krajina and have joined

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in the fighting in Bosnia, the North Atlantic alliance's air strikes brought a halt to the attacks from Karadzic's forces, and the United States began to make a very active diplomatic appearance. What and who deserves the main credit for the current cease-fire?

[Izetbegovic] What you are saying is admittedly true, but you have forgotten that the Bosnian Army has also been very successful. This is because, of the territory liberated during the past three months, a full 60 percent of it has been liberated by the Bosnian Army. If it had not been for its advances, even the Croatian offensive would not have been so successful. The Bosnian Army 5th Corps held out throughout the war under siege in the Bihac enclave. It was very important that, when the Croats began their offensive, the 5th Corps was able to attack the Serbs from the other side. In essence, it seemed as if the Croats were attacking from two sides. As if they were dropping paratroops behind the lines. But, to answer your question: I think the United States is behind all of the important events that have taken place this year. In my opinion, the Americans have decided to end the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Pravda] You have mentioned the Bosnian Army's successes. Is it, despite the signed cease-fire, being tempted, inasmuch as the Serbs have been weakened militarily, to improve its starting position for more advantageous territorial arrangements? What are the limits of your military operations?

[Izetbegovic] Bosnian forces have already halted on the basis of the cease-fire. We agreed in Geneva to Bosnia-Herzegovina's internal division on a 51:49 ratio. We feel bound by this agreement. All the peace talks will, therefore, proceed on the basis of this quota. But, you are, of course, right that the Bosnian Army's success have strengthened our position at the talks. There is a saying that diplomacy is in fact a cosmetic modification of a military situation. If the military situation is developing badly for you, diplomacy will not help you much.

[Pravda] Do you think that, from the start, the Bosnian Muslims were the most endangered community in this war?

[Izetbegovic] Yes. I think that the aim of Karadzic's Serbs was to annihilate the Moslem community in Bosnia. I emphasize Karadzic's regime because we make a clear distinction between his supporters and normal Serbs.

[Pravda] What could force the Bosnian Serbs to begin cooperating on a practical level of peaceful renewal?

[Izetbegovic] Karadzic's regime has suffered defeat, and I think it will collapse. The collapse of Karadzic's regime will be a repercussion of this war because it can only exist in wartime, not in peacetime. On 13 October I made the following analogy: A vampire disappears the moment dawn breaks. Similarly, Karadzic will disappear with daybreak.

[Pravda] Will a new generation of already enlightened politicians then enter the scene?

[Izetbegovic] We must hope so.

[Pravda] Mr. President, you are known to be a religious believer. During these three and a half years of war, have you sometimes doubted your faith or God directly?

[Izetbegovic] I have never had any doubts. I think that the very existence of good and evil is proof that God exists. And, if it were not for God, there would be no events. Everything would merely function mechanically without Him. So, that is how I come to terms with this. You are certainly right that many people see things differently and look for other evidence of God, for example, teleological evidence. But, this has no meaning for me. If there were no God, nothing would be tragic. There would only be incidents here.

[Pravda] Prewar Bosnia is said to have been a very civic and secular country.

[Izetbegovic] But it was never atheistic.

[Pravda] Could it be said generally, however, that the three and a half years of war have contributed to the people's returning to a deeper faith in God?

[Izetbegovic] I think that the suffering will contrive to bring people closer to God. Death is something that inspires both faith and art. Suffering in fact created religion and art. This is hard to understand, but, in my opinion, it is so. People find meaning in life if they undergo some kind of suffering. Then they start to ask what the meaning of life is, why we are in this world.

Defense Ministry Official Discusses NATO Study

AU1710181795 Prague PRAVO in Czech 4 Oct 95 p 21

[Interview with Jaromir Novotny, Foreign Section head at the Czech Ministry of Defense, by Jiri Roskot; place and date not given: "Demands Can Be Deduced From the NATO Study"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Roskot] A NATO team will visit the Czech Republic to discuss the alliance study on its expansion. Can this indicate more than the briefing in Brussels?

[Novotny] The very position of any particular country within the Partnership for Peace (PFP) indicates a

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convergence toward NATO, and the study is not as vague as some would believe. The partners can deduce for themselves what is expected of them, and also whether they can afford it. The team is to answer specific questions regarding the study.

[Roskot] Did U.S. Defense Secretary Perry define, while in Prague, some financial limits?

[Novotny] No. He basically pointed out that NATO would not cover our membership dues. Either the country can afford the membership or it cannot. Similarly, the NATO study points out, among other things, that a new member must expect to face significant financial expenditures on common programs, and that this would be projected not only in the defense budget but also in the state budget in general.

[Roskot] What does the study expect first of all?

[Novotny] In addition to political demands, like respecting the UN Charter and the principles on which NATO was built, the new member must be, above all, a contribution to the defense role of the alliance.

[Roskot] In what respect does this concern nuclear arms?

[Novotny] Strategic nuclear forces are referred to in the study as the highest guarantee of the security of the alliance. It is expected that the new member will support the role of nuclear arms in the strategic concept of the alliance as the means for intimidation and the prevention of war. The Czech Republic, too, should have people prepared to share work in the Committee for Nuclear Planning. NATO does not feel any need to modify any aspect of its nuclear policy and will maintain the existing capacity. It does not require the deployment of its nuclear arms on the territory of the new members.

[Roskot] How does NATO see its role in Europe?

[Novotny] It wants to participate in the building of security architecture in the Euro-Atlantic space with the existing European institutions. At the same time, the study states that NATO is the decisive link and that it remains a purely defensive organization. It is mentioned in the study that, if NATO is to be expanded, the treaty on conventional weapons in Europe will have to be renegotiated, whereby it accommodates demands from Russia. Good relations between NATO and Russia are in the interest of all OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] countries, the study states. It is also expected of the new alliance members that they would recognize the importance of the continuing existence of the PFP because it is a bridge to countries that do not intend to join NATO. Similarly, it is expected that the Stability Pact signed in Paris will be respected.

[Roskot] Does the study allow for various forms of membership?

[Novotny] NATO does not expect any new modes of membership to develop in addition to the three existing ones. This means either full participation in the integrated military structures and the collective defense planning process, or no participation in the integrated military command but participation in the collective defense planning, which is connected with a series of cooperation agreements in some areas of the integrated military command. The third option is no participation in the integrated military command or in the collective defense planning but participation in certain areas of the integrated military command according to a series of special agreements between the Army chief of staff of the given country and the united command.

[Roskot] What is the character of the agreement on the protection of classified data signed during the visit by Secretary Perry?

[Novotny] It is a bilateral Czech-U.S. treaty. It facilitates, for instance, the entry of the firm Rockwell into Aero Vodochody. This treaty is important not only for the Defense Ministry but also for Czech industry.

[Roskot] Does the treaty result in some personnel measures?

[Novotny] That is given already by the treaty we signed with NATO earlier this year. It is of an umbrella character. In the process of converging toward NATO, we will probably sign bilateral secrecy pacts with other members of the alliance, too. It is not a Warsaw Pact but a genuine alliance.

Government, Industry Differ on NIAG Conference

AU1710160795 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 6 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by Petr Bakovsky and Tomas Kubes: "The Views of Government and Enterprise Representatives on the Import of the NIAG Conference Differ"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The aim of the NATO Industrial Advisory Group (NIAG) conference is to develop defense industry cooperation between NATO and the Partnership for Peace countries, said NIAG Chairman Francois Le Menestrel to reporters. The conference, which opened in Prague yesterday, should deal with the practical issues of military production and defense policy. According to Milan Cerny, deputy trade and industry minister, it is apparent from the discussion that there are similar problems in all countries arising from the

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conversion of the arms industry. "Our industry must apply itself not only in the Czech Army, but also in foreign projects," he said. He praised the establishment of the RDP Group arms consortium because manufacturers should try to "promote their own interests" in this manner.

AERO Vodochody Director General Zdenek Chalupnik said that the discussions about cooperation for Czech enterprises are overdue. "Following an agreement between the United States and our government, some components embargoed until now are beginning to be cleared. Further licensing procedures will follow, however. AERO had to orient itself toward Western equipment for its aircraft earlier. If we had waited for international agreements, we would have collapsed long ago." According to Z. Chalupnik, it would have been enlightening for the Czech Government when Leonard Gollobin of the United States described the U.S. purchasing system in his speech. "He used the word 'government' in every line. The government will spend, the government will consider; we do not have this in our country. We have now obtained an important credit guarantee for the development of and investment in the L-159, but they are saying here that all arms orders are assigned and considered by the government. In our country, the Defense Ministry is our partner. It has a certain annual budget but may not have this amount after the elections." VZLU [Aviation Research and Testing Institute] Director General Miroslav Holi said: "First and foremost, we would need a regular set of norms for the aviation and military industry so that the enterprises can familiarize themselves with the regulations their products have to comply with in NATO countries. At the moment, we procure them only through personal contacts."

Arms Manufacturer Sponsors Iranian Exhibition

AU0610130895 Prague RESPEKT in Czech No 39, 25 Sep-1 Oct 95 p 4

[Article by Jindrich Sidlo: "Arms Manufacturers Started a New Keg"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Skoda Plzen Organizes an Exhibition of Iranian Culture

The image of the director general of Skoda Plzen as a hard and coldly calculating businessman may not be a complete one. Lubomir Soudek also loves culture and does not hesitate to spend millions to be able to acquaint the public with his favored artists. Proof of this can be found on the billboards currently posted in Prague. Red placards announce that "Days of Iranian Culture" will take place in the Veletrzni Palac at the end of October. The organizer, who is footing the bill for the entire action (the lease for the palace alone comes to 2.5 million korunas), is Skoda Plzen.

We Do Not Want Any Problems

Days of culture of a country the entire democratic world considers the main sponsor of international terrorism and an expression of its cultural policy—for instance, the death sentence on Salman Rushdie—are not organized in the Czech Republic every month. Additional poignancy is added to the action by the fact that the biggest scandal in the Czech Republic involves Iran and Lubomir Soudek. In 1993 it emerged that, during his Tehran mission at the time, Soudek offered local military top brass not only the modernization of the T-72 tank or ground-to-air missiles, but also nuclear reactors that could be misused for the Iranian nuclear program. At that time, THE NEW YORK TIMES dubbed the Czech Republic a "death merchant capable of anything."

Therefore, the restraint regarding the action shown by the Czech authorities is quite understandable. While the Foreign Ministry responded to the query from the Culture Ministry that the Foreign Ministry has "no objections" to the days of culture taking place, Tomas Smetanka, head of the Middle East Section found it necessary to send a letter to Lubomir Soudek in which he diplomatically expressed his opinion that the organizers "will succeed in their mission and attain the objectives of the 'Days of Culture' and avoid any disturbing religious or political events." Culture Minister Pavel Tigrid was restrained when he was asked by the Skoda boss to take the exhibition under his auspices. Tigrid, of course, according to our sources, refused to do so even after a consultation with [Foreign Minister] Zieleniec. "Many such and similar requests come to the ministry, and it is necessary to be careful not to downplay a possibility of [Iranian] patronage of such activities. Therefore, the request by Mr. Soudek did not pass our selection process," the minister said, explaining his decision.

According to Kamil Cermak, spokesman of the Industry and Trade Ministry, it is purely an action by Skoda Plzen, and therefore [Economics Minister Vladimir] Dlouhy's department does not want to comment on it, either positively or negatively. "Of course, even such an exhibit certainly cannot change our belief that sensitive equipment, such as components for the nuclear program or the modernization of the T-72 tank, simply cannot be exported to Iran," Cermak adds. Even Soudek is apparently aware of this—judging by the fact that, since its Iranian adventure, Skoda has not applied to the License Bureau at the Industry and Trade Ministry for a permit to export "sensitive equipment" either to Iran or

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to Russia, for instance, which acts as a supplier for the Bushehr nuclear power plant construction in Iran. The United States and Israel expressed their concern in this context last winter, contending that the planned export of Skoda nuclear parts to Russia could be misdirected to the Iranian nuclear program. At the time, Skoda described the concerns over the possible Plzen-Moscow-Tehran axis as "nonsensical," although its management had publicly declared an interest in participating with Russia in the completion of the Bushehr power plant just a year earlier.

Moreover, Skoda Plzen spokesman Karel Samec denies unequivocally any ulterior motives of the exhibition—i.e., endeavors to reestablish the failed business activities of 1993. "We are interested in business with Iran, but we certainly do not want to export anything that would cause difficulties for our government," Samec says. These are, however, almost the same words as those used by his fellow spokesman Jaroslav Hudec two years ago, when it was up to him to "facilitate" Soudek's publicly exposed contracts with the Iranian Army.

On a Positive Note

It remains to be seen how Skoda actually intends to present contemporary Iran to the Czech public. According to Samec, "frenzied preparations" are under way, and it is not yet possible to say "in which manner the exhibit will be displayed." It is only certain that it should introduce Iranian traditions and way of life.

Inseparable elements of the "way of life" of today's Iran, however, also include legal punishments like stoning, putting out eyes, and public executions, as was described in an interview for RESPEKT (No. 48/1994) last year by a member of the Iranian shadow cabinet, Fariba Hashtrudi: "The Islamic Revolutionary Tribunal has pronounced sentences of stoning to death, although the Koran explicitly rejects it. An execution takes place at least once a week: It is done in the city square before the court officials and crowds whose attendance is obligatory, and, at times, the convicts are still whipped before stoning."

Of course, the Czech visitor of the "Days of Iranian Culture" will not learn such things. As Samec says, "The activities will present a positive view. We need to present Iran as a serious business partner."

Arson at Prague Synagogue; News Blackout Imposed

AU1710141495 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 12 Oct 95 p 7

[Article by Prague correspondent Branislav Janik: "Prague Police Are Guarding Synagogue"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—In view of an ongoing investigation of the case, Prague criminal investigators refuse to provide details on the recent attempt to set fire to the Jewish synagogue on Jeruzalemska Street in Prague. The existence of a news blackout has been admitted also by Josef Kutek, director of the Police Section for Combating Organized Crime. He did confirm the attempted arson attack, however. According to him, this was an exceptional case.

Already late last week, seven youngsters were chanting fascist slogans—"Juden Raus," "Heil Hitler," "Jews to gas chambers," etc.—and threatening to cut believers' throats in front of Prague's Old-New Synagogue. The police detained the youngsters then, but nothing more happened. In addition, a number of other, mostly verbal, anti-Jewish attacks took place elsewhere in Prague.

For the past three weeks, an anonymous caller repeatedly gave the Prague Jewish religious community notice of a bomb attack. On 6 October, an unidentified perpetrator threw a bottle with inflammable matter to a place where there usually are burning candles, obviously expecting the inflammable matter to catch fire from the candles. By a mere coincidence, the candles were not lit, and an extensive fire did not flare up. A second, already lit, bottle had been thrown directly in front of the synagogue, but the fire did not cause any major damage. The Jewish community asked the police for protection, and policemen have been guarding the building ever since.

Zeman Stands by Denial of CSSD-ODS Coalition

AU1810081195 Prague PRAVO in Czech 11 Oct 95 p 2

[Unattributed report: "REUTER: Zeman Did Not Rule Out Business With Zieleniec"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Although the Social Democrat leader Milos Zeman is still denying having said in a recent interview for the REUTER agency that he would consider the possibility of an agreement with the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] if Josef Zieleniec were to replace Vaclav Klaus as its leader, the recording of the interview that PRAVO has at its disposal confirms that Zeman did consider this possibility in it.

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In reply to a question on whether this would still be impossible for him (the idea of a Czech Social Democratic Party-ODS [CSSD-ODS] coalition—editor's note) if Klaus were replaced by a more flexible leader, Zeman said literally: "More flexible? If, for example, Mr. Zieleniec were in charge of the ODS, yes, everything would be open."

In reply to another question from REUTER on whether Zieleniec is a man with whom Zeman could do business, if this need were to arise as a result of the electoral arithmetic next June, according to the REUTER recording, Zeman said: "Yes, I think so, because—just imagine this—we argue strongly and passionately on the television screen...but before and afterwards we are capable of communicating normally. However, with Mr. Klaus this is completely out of the question. This is a man—how shall I put it?—a man without an on-off switch."

Zeman said in an interview for PRAVO last week that he would consider a CSSD-ODS coalition "to be a sham, even a betrayal of CSSD voters—regardless of whether Vaclav Klaus, Josef Zieleniec, Miroslav Macek, or Petr Cermak were the ODS leader." He also told PRAVO that he was very surprised that the REUTER agency correspondent took his comment on its being easier to communicate with Zieleniec than with Klaus as a suggestion that, "if there were a change in the ODS leadership, a grand coalition could be formed."

In reply to a question from PRAVO on 10 October on whether he is sticking to his denial of the REUTER report, Zeman repeated that this was a discussion in which all of the possibilities that could arise next year after the parliamentary elections were perused quite hypothetically and theoretically. "I am very sorry that, after this experience, for the next time, I will have to ask such an eminent agency as REUTER for authorization," said Zeman to PRAVO.

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Kovac Assesses 12-13 Oct Visit to Germany

AU1710194395 Bratislava SME in Slovak 14 Oct 95 pp 1, 7

[Report by CTK: "While in Germany, Michal Kovac Tried To Dispel Foreign Observers' Fears Regarding Developments in Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bonn—"I was trying to stress that, in defiance of the domestic political problems now existing in Slovakia, Slovakia is interested in its earliest possible integration, along with the other countries of Central Europe, into European structures and NATO," President Michal Kovac said in Bonn yesterday after his talks with German Bundestag deputies and representatives of industrial and business circles. He confirmed this main purpose of his brief visit to the German capital also in his 12 October lecture at the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, at whose invitation the president's visit to Bonn took place. In his lecture, he called on German politicians "not to overestimate the present domestic political situation in Slovakia, not to draw incorrect conclusions from it, and not to permit Slovakia's isolation." He was trying, above all, to dispel the fears of foreign observers resulting from the conflicting signals coming from the present government coalition regarding, for example, Slovakia's possible neutrality and its leaning toward the East, or the failure to react to the West's diplomatic reminders in response to some government steps that, according to critics, are not in harmony with democratic principles. President Kovac stressed that the "government program, which clearly defines the Slovak Republic's orientation toward European and transatlantic structures, remains binding for Slovak policy." He voiced the conviction that the internal problems, which are a consequence of an "insufficiently crystallized political scene" and the "slow formation of the middle and upper strata of the population," are temporary and that the interest in integration is irreversible.

At the same time, he emphasized the positive economic development in Slovakia and called on German partners to more actively participate in the economic development of the Slovak Republic. In his replies to listeners' questions, he termed, among other things, "slightly incomprehensible" the "linguistic problem" that prevents the signing of some already prepared agreements between Slovakia and Germany and voiced the hope that this problem will soon be solved. For linguistic reasons, the Slovak Government insists on the name "German Federal Republic [Nemecka Spolkova Republika]," which the German side refuses to accept. In his replies to journalists' questions, Kovac rejected speculation that he had come to Bonn to "plead" for his son, who had been arrested in Austria on the basis of a warrant issued by the Bavarian prosecutor's office. "This question is not on the agenda, has not even been mentioned, and I do not think it will be," Kovac said. [passage omitted]

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 14 October on page 1, under the headline "President Michal Kovac Called For Reinforcement of Dialogue Between Germany and Slovakia," carries a 300-word report by "ns" on President Kovac's comments on his visit to Germany. The report includes the following passage: "Asked by PRAVDA whether his German interlocutors explained why, when listing countries deemed fit for entry into the EU they do not mention Slovakia, the president replied that this issue had not been discussed in such detail. As he said, however, the German representatives made it clear that the domestic political situation in our country does not give a good name to the Slovak Republic and casts doubt on our intentions with regard to a democratic development and the implementation of transformation. 'It could be seen that they are not enthusiastic about this but that, quite the contrary, they consider it necessary, as good friends, that this situation be overcome as soon as possible so as to enable them to keep pressing for Slovakia's admission into NATO and the EU,' Michal Kovac said."]

Kidnapping Investigator: Meciar Interfering

AU1710140695 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Oct 95 pp 1-2

[Report by "mvt, CTK": "According to Vladimir Meciar, Central Slovaks Have Taken Charge of Investigating the Abduction of M.K. Jr."]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banska Bystrica—At an intimate meeting (200 participants) with his supporters in Banska Bystrica on Wednesday 11 October, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar refuted his own recent assertion that the investigators and the police are informing the president of the Slovak Republic and not him about the course of investigation [of the kidnapping of the Slovak president's son]. Also his statement that the case has already been transferred to investigators from Central Slovakia bears out the fact that he is always at least one step ahead of the bodies involved in criminal proceedings. "As for conclusions from the investigation, any speculation is premature. The investigators who were giving certain promises that they would be able to resolve matters even differently are being withdrawn from the case," he confided to his at times apathetic-looking supporters in the Banska Bystrica House of Culture, who, before his arrival, had been thoroughly searched by 25 or more secret policemen.

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"Such people must not conduct the investigation! New people are taking up the case, one of whom is, I presume, from Banska Bystrica, one from Zvolen, and one from Liptovsky Mikulas. Central Slovaks are going to take charge, and I hope they will put things in order. If there was an abduction, they will announce it, and, if not, they will at least say what happened."

In an interview for CTK, Major Peter Vacok, investigator of the case of the abduction of the president's son, labeled these statements irresponsible [neseriozne]. According to him, Meciar's conduct can be qualified as interference in the powers of bodies that are active in criminal proceedings. "In relation to criminal proceedings, the status of Prime Minister Meciar is that of a citizen," Maj. Vacok told CTK. He added that no one had let him know that the case is to be taken over by investigators from Central Slovakia. For the time being, he is carrying on the investigation, he said. Maj. Vacok is also again in possession of the original file on the investigation, which the General Prosecutor's Office and Prosecutor General Michal Valo had requested from him on 6 October.

Slovak Interior Ministry Spokesman Peter Ondera has also not been informed about the alleged transfer of the investigation to other investigators and to a different regional office of investigations. Jan Kostov, the investigators' new chief, whom the opposition Christian Democrats still suspect of secret service membership, has taken a vacation before taking up his new post. Everything suggests that Monday's rumors that the case would end up in Banska Bystrica within two or three days were, astonishingly, true.

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 13 October on page 1 carries a 400-word report by "pt" on the latest developments in the investigation of the president's son's abduction, which states: "Our editorial office has managed to obtain the information that, in the case of the abduction of Michal Kovac Jr., charges have been brought against two persons who are in an employment relationship with the Slovak Information Service. Asked by SME whether he could confirm this information, Peter Vacok, investigator of the case, replied: 'Under an agreement, information will be provided by the Ministry of Interior, and further information can be obtained from the Regional Prosecutor's Office.'" As SME goes on to say, by the time the 13 October issue went to press, the daily had not received from the Interior Ministry and the Regional Prosecutor's Office any response to its queries.]

Investigator Taken Off Case

LD1810105095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0900 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Robert Vlachovsky, prosecutor of the Bratislava Regional Prosecutor's Office supervising the investigation of the abduction of Michal Kovac Jr. abroad, yesterday decided to remove from the case Peter Vacok, the investigator from the Bratislava Regional Police Investigation Department. The case will be given to another investigator. The Slovak news agency TASR did not give his name, though.

Robert Vlachovsky thus responded to a complaint by the Office of Prosecutor General lodged at this office by the director of the Slovak Intelligence Service. The complaint indicated a suspicion that criminal offenses have been committed by some employees of the Regional Investigation Office in Bratislava, including the investigator in the criminal offense of Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction abroad.

According to Vlachovsky, it is in the interests of preserving the objectivity of actions and impartiality of the investigation that another investigator should carry out further investigations.

Major Peter Vacok told TASR that he knew nothing about being taken off the case of investigating the aforementioned criminal offense. Neither had he received notification of the decision that he has been taken off the case. He is still in possession of the investigation file.

Role of SIS in Kidnapping

AU1810081495 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 14 Oct 95 p 9

[Interview with Ludovit Cernak, Slovak DU deputy chairman, by an unidentified PRACA correspondent; place and date not given: "Ludovit Cernak About His Talk With Ludovit Hudek"—reprinted from 13 October issue of Bratislava PRACA in Slovak]

[FBIS Translated Text] Within the framework of a deputies' inquiry, Ludovit Cernak and Jozef Moravcik, deputies to the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] for the Democratic Union [DU], asked Interior Minister Ludovit Hudek for his standpoint on the further course of investigation of Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction and on the case of DU petition sheets. PRACA No. 237 asked Ludovit Cernak for further information on this meeting.

[Cernak] The minister's conduct was extremely correct. He did not utter a single word that would deny the participation of the secret service in Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction. He declared that the present situation cannot

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be characterized as a conflict between the Police Corps and the Slovak Information Service [SIS]. He raised a rhetorical question: "If a similar situation arose in relation to military defense intelligence, for example, would my people have their fingers in the pie again, and would the blame again be put on policemen?" He stressed that this is a problem for the prosecutor general and that he is acting in accordance with his powers.

[PRACA] Did you ask him whether he considers the SIS's participation in the kidnapping of Michal Kovac Jr. to be a proven fact?

[Hudek] The question I asked was how the investigator will proceed after the abortive NRSR meeting. I was thinking of the appeal addressed to the president that he grant pardon to SIS members who will be ready to testify, even if they are not released from their vow of silence. Minister Hudek reiterated that the conflict should be dealt with by the prosecutor general and not by him.

[PRACE] What information regarding the DU petition sheets did you receive from the minister of interior?

[Cernak] He referred us to the newly appointed deputy to [director of the Police Corps Section of Investigation and Criminal Expert Analyses] Mr. Kostov, Lieutenant Colonel Debnar, who then contacted us with the responsible officials. These confirmed the results of our previous survey because the number of people who acknowledged their signatures on [DU] petition sheets greatly exceeds [the required number of] 10,000.... When we asked the minister about the source from which Mr. Macuska [chairman of a parliamentary commission set up to investigate the legitimacy of DU's participation in the October 1994 parliamentary elections] draws his information, given the fact that no report exists to date and that we have had to laboriously add up and verify all figures from materials from which the final report will be compiled, Minister Hudek replied that he did not give Mr. Macuska any written report and had only passed on to him orally tentative information.

SIS Fires Information Leakers

AU1710162895 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Oct 95 p 1

[Article by "fe": "The Police and the Slovak Information Service Shadowing Sections Are Shadowing One Another"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The above headline characterizes the situation these days, which only seems not to be related to the investigation of the case of Michal Kovac Jr. On top of this, the Slovak Information Service [SIS] shadowing section has one extra job: It is looking, up to now in vain, for its member O.F., a former policeman who joined the SIS's services in June and who is now suspected of being the source of some of the information supplied to the investigators of the case. Several SIS members have had to part ways with the SIS these days, most of them supposedly because of suspected information leaks. Today it will be scarcely possible to ascertain whether it was one of the dismissed employees who supplied the information that the license plate and other important identifying marks have meanwhile been removed from the Mercedes van [belonging to the SIS, which had been seen near Kovac Jr.'s house before the kidnapping]. It will be equally difficult to ascertain from what source the mass media knows about the frequent visits of [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia MP and chairman of the parliamentary commission of inquiry into the causes of the "constitutional crisis" of March 1994] Dusan Macuska to the SIS building, where he is supposedly receiving instruction on how to formulate the report of his commission of inquiry. And who would consider firing those SIS members who saw [Slovak National Party Chairman] Jan Slota seeking admission to the building, along with his bodyguard, who refused to hand in his weapon, thus bringing him into conflict with the guards of the SIS building?

Ambassadors To Be Replaced by 'Loyal' People

AU1810081395 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 14 Oct 95 p 1

[Report by CTK: "Maria Klimova, Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Personnel Section, Gives Notice of the First Batch of Ambassadors' Dismissals"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"The dismissal of the first batch of ambassadors is ready," Maria Klimova, director of the Personnel Section at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, announced at a meeting with Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] voters on 12 October. This step is to be the consequence of the nonfulfillment of tasks assigned to the ambassadors at their Bratislava meeting in April. One of these tasks was to see to the improvement of Slovakia's reputation in the countries in which they operate, particularly in the local press.

Replying to questions from the attending supporters of the ruling movement, mostly pensioners, Maria Klimova admitted that some ambassadors do not react to "shocking" articles about Slovakia. "I would call a news conference, would not be stingy, would buy them sausage and a beer, and I suppose that at least one of the 40 or so journalists would then write something positive about Slovakia," she recommended. She mentioned

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as a positive example Marian Servatka, ambassador in Warsaw, who organized for Polish journalists a week-long stay in Slovakia, which has been positively reflected in the writing of some journalists. "It is up to the ambassador what image of Slovakia he allows to be created abroad." Director Klimova admitted that the dismissals could run up against problems because they require the president's approval. However, the ambassador in question can be recalled and his duties can be discharged by a charge d'affaires "loyal to the government and working for Slovakia."

Maria Klimova refused to reply to the question of how many ambassadors will be affected: "These are matters that one simply does not discuss. The people in question are those who did not meet the tasks that emerged from the consultative meeting of ambassadors held in April. No one has been recalled because of his political 'color,' and everyone was given a chance," she stressed. "We will see. The situation is not that unequivocal. Some advocate immediate dismissal, some still have the chance to work. There was not just one task assigned to the ambassadors. There were more of them, and if the ambassador did not meet one of them, it is still open to consideration whether he can carry on. Everyone had the chance to reveal himself, but, unfortunately, not everyone seized this chance," Maria Klimova, director of the Personnel Section at the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said in conclusion.

SPZ: From 'Radical Opponent' to HZDS 'Satellite'

AU1710140895 Bratislava SME in Slovak 13 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by "sp": "SPZ Welcomes Agreement With HZDS; UZPR Is of a Different Opinion"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"I consider the signing of the agreement on political cooperation with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] to be the culmination of the work of the Party of Entrepreneurs and Tradesmen (SPZ) in the sense that the SPZ can now submit draft legislation and assist the government in reviving small and medium-sized businesses in Slovakia," SPZ Chairman Vladimir Randa, who signed the above document on 11 October with HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar, told SME yesterday. Randa's political rival, Union of Tradesmen, Entrepreneurs, and Farmers [UZPR] chairman P. Prokopovic, sees the conclusion of the agreement between the SPZ and the HZDS as "clear evidence that SPZ representatives have assumed a position among the satellites of the ruling movement, which needs to create the impression that even small and medium-sized businessmen support the present government." Asked what he thinks about some measures of the Meciar government, such as the inconsistently prepared decree on electronic cash registers, that are liquidationist in relation to the stratum that the SPZ seeks to represent, Vladimir Randa said: "Macroeconomic indicators clearly demonstrate the economy's upward trend. It is evident that, at this moment, electronic cash registers helped to eliminate speculators and swindlers, something we have always supported." Commenting on the conclusion of the agreement, UZPR Chairman P. Prokopovic expressed "admiration at the change in the political orientation of SPZ representatives, who only a few months ago, in a common bloc with the Democratic Party, were among the most radical opponents of the HZDS. However, where personal profit interests prevail over one's political conscience, everything is possible."

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 13 October on page 2 carries a 100-word report by "sm" entitled "Agreement Is Mockery of Entrepreneurs." According to the report, a UZPR statement issued on 12 October qualified the agreement between the HZDS and the SPZ as a "mockery of all entrepreneurs and tradesmen, whom present ruling power gradually liquidates by its decisions." The statement also dismisses the SPZ as "consisting only of the party chairman and a few functionaries linked to him by privatization projects."]

SDL Appoints Four More to 'Shadow Cabinet'

AU1710152795 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 16 Oct 95 p 1

[Report by Martin Kovacic: "Party of the Democratic Left Does Not Want To Be in a Single Opposition Camp"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—[Passage omitted] The Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] National Board on 14 October appointed additional members of the Council of Sections for Practical Policy (the SDL shadow cabinet)—Peter Bartak for defense, Michal Borgula for internal and regional policy, Juraj Plesnik for privatization, and Robert Fico for justice.

Toth on Aims, Activities of Arms-Industry Holding

AU1710195795 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 12 Oct 95 pp 1-2

[Report by "jp" on interview with Julius Toth, president of the DMD Holding; place and date not given: "Holding Is Not a Gold Mine"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Trencin—The Slovak Government decision to create a holding out of engineering companies that are of strategic importance from the viewpoint of our young state became a reality earlier this month. The first violin in this emerging colossus will be played by Julius Toth, Slovak Government

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commissioner for restructuring engineering production, who officially became president of the DMD Holding shareholding company on 1 October 1995. As he told HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in this connection, the founding of the holding was made necessary by the need to harmonize the interests of firms that are rightly considered to be the most complicated, intricate, and strongest part of the Slovak economy. According to Julius Toth, first it was necessary to solve some legislative problems because expert teams are still only working on the law on holding companies. However, in implementing this government decision, it was possible to rely on the existing legislative base of valid laws.

Responding to critics who consider it atypical to form a holding by means of a decision from above, Julius Toth said that economic practice in the world knows cases of holding companies that were formed from above, as well as those formed from below. In the sphere of special production, however, the approach chosen by the Slovak Government is the more common one. Julius Toth also regards as unfounded objections according to which the founding of the holding could be qualified as a potential threat to economic competition. Monopoly corporations of this type exist throughout the world, and not only in the sphere of special production. Living proof of this are supranational monopolies, which exist in essentially all production branches. Besides, the engineering companies that are part of the DMD Holding put only 34 of their assets into the shareholding company. The rest of their capital is at their free disposal, and they can privatize it in accordance with the strategic interests of their firm. The interests of employees' shareholding companies, which had been formed in most companies of the DMD Holding earlier, will not be threatened, either.

In connection with the establishment of the holding, illusory notions sometimes appear among a part of the staff of the companies involved that this is a "gold mine," in which the government will guarantee a relatively calm life and high incomes. Such illusions arise, in particular, in some trade union organizations. Julius Toth does not rule out that similar views could in some cases complicate future collective bargaining. Julius Toth does not consider similar illusions fortunate because only good economic results can guarantee the improvement of the income situation. And the parameters of the starting position in the companies undergoing conversion are the opposite of good. According to Toth, it will be a success if, for example, the current loss of these companies, which totals 4.5 billion korunas, will palpably decrease next year.

Julius Toth also considers unrealistic the revival of the former central management through the holding. According to Toth, the holding will not be some kind of general directorate with a large number of unproductive bureaucrats. The economic rules of a market economy simply do not make this possible. If the holding wants to survive, it must adopt the strategy of economic recovery that is typical today of Slovak production branches such as metallurgy and chemistry. For engineering to get onto this trajectory, it will have to overcome a great many serious problems. The holding's uniform policy in strategic planning, in the sphere of finance, and in research, production, and marketing could be helpful in this regard. The possibilities of special and civilian production must complement one another in a suitable way. Such a combination is quite common in most countries of the world with a developed engineering industry. According to Julius Toth, Slovakia could join them also in this sphere.

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Szent-Ivanyi on Relations With Russia, Romania

AU1810074995 Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 14 Oct 95 pp 55-56

[Interview with Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, Foreign Ministry political state secretary, by Andras Peto; place and date not given: "The Russian Position Has Toughened Noticeably"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Peto] The building of the Hungarian OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] mission in Groznyy came under attack twice recently, Moscow has renewed its idea of reviving the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [CEMA], and it has again distanced itself from returning Hungarian works of art stolen during World War II. Is all this the result of the increasingly rigid Russian position regarding NATO expansion?

[Szent-Ivanyi] When, during my talks with Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Krylov in Moscow, I expressed my concern over the fact that the Chechen forces in very close contact with the Russian authorities surrounded the building of the Hungarian mission and did not allow the people to leave the building, by that evening, Russian federal forces sent two armored vehicles to defend the members of the mission....

[Peto] Since then, however, the building has even come under fire! What can be the reason behind this provocation?

[Szent-Ivanyi] We are very concerned that the sides want to solve the Chechen conflict by force, rather than through negotiations, and it seems that, with its mediation attempts, the OSCE mission is hindering them in this. The Russian Foreign Ministry does not agree with this, but the current OSCE chairman continues to regard it important to ensure the undisturbed operation of the mission.

[Peto] What about the revival of CEMA?

[Szent-Ivanyi] They sent this as a government proposal to the former CEMA members a few weeks ago. In their view, the organization is justified to exist but, this time, on an economic basis, rather than on a political one. The Czech Republic and Poland refused this proposal immediately, and the Hungarian position is currently being formulated. In any case, I told my hosts in Moscow that we are interested in maintaining and broadening Hungarian-Russian relations, but on a bilateral basis, and we do not see any sense in creating a new organization. The development of bilateral relations must not hinder our efforts in European integration.

[Peto] What did they say in Moscow about NATO expansion?

[Szent-Ivanyi] According to Mr. Krylov, Russia has always opposed NATO expansion. But we remember Boris Yeltsin's statement in Warsaw, according to which Russia has no problem with Poland's NATO membership, and Yeltsin also declared during Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn's visit to Moscow in April this year that Hungary's NATO membership would not affect our bilateral relations negatively. The Russian position has toughened noticeably since then. I think that the Russian parliamentary elections due in December this year and the presidential elections due next year are important factors in all this.

[Peto] Is Moscow expressing with increasing emphasis that its big power interests of decades are being hurt? As for NATO, does it transpire from its position that, fearing a confrontation, it is increasingly skeptical regarding joining a Central European "buffer zone" that would also include Hungary?

[Szent-Ivanyi] Many people in the West also think that a broad cordon sanitaire will avoid conflicts between them and Russia. I do not think so. Buffer zones can have a lasting destabilization effect, particularly if they include the possibility of conflict as it is. This possibility would only cease to exist if these countries stabilized economically and politically and clearly joined the Western world, including the EU and NATO, and thus contributed to the external stability of this region. After all, NATO has also realized this, and the recent NATO study that states that expansion is an important all-European interest proves this. At the same time, no one wants to provoke what several Russian leaders have been hinting at recently, namely, setting up a new defense alliance from the CIS states, the deployment of nuclear weapons along their Western borders, and the possible abandoning of the arms reduction treaty. However, one should also be aware of the fact that the Russian development is full of a lot of unpredictable elements. Unfortunately, Europe must be prepared and make sure that the countries that had been under the Russian sphere of influence for a long time are not taken by surprise if big-power and expansionist efforts nevertheless gain ground in Russia. And the fact that the NATO study stipulates neither the deployment of NATO troops nor nuclear weapons in peace time can calm Moscow down. It is true, however, that one could see some nervous reactions after Czech President Havel immediately signaled that the Czech Republic was ready to store nuclear weapons on its territory. I think that the aforementioned formulation of the NATO study is fully acceptable for us.

[Peto] What have you succeeded in and what have you failed to achieve in Moscow regarding the return of Hungarian works of art?

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[Szent-Ivanyi] In my opinion, this is also a Russian domestic political issue. The original Potsdam Treaty excluded the possibility of taking the property of Jews, antifascists, and churches as war booty. Thus, the highly valuable Hatvany and Herzog collections, as well as the ancient prints and valuable books of the Presbyterian Library of Sarospatak are illegally kept in Russia, and the Russians will have to return them. According to the Russian Foreign Ministry, a law must be legislated for the return of works of art. At present, however, most Russian parliamentarians regard these works of art as national property, including the works of art taken from Germany and the Netherlands, and they do not want to return them.

[Peto] At the invitation of Workers Party Chairman Gyula Thurmer, Mira Markovic, leader of one of the Serbian parties and wife of Serbian President Milosevic, visited Budapest recently and was also received by Hungarian President Arpad Goncz. To what extent is this part of the uniform Hungarian foreign policy?

[Szent-Ivanyi] The Foreign Ministry does not have contacts with the parties, so it did not deal with the Workers Party's guest either. Arpad Goncz's public status makes it possible for him to also conduct talks organized by his own foreign policy office. The uniform Hungarian foreign policy is implemented by close cooperation between the president of the republic and us, and there is harmony in foreign policy efforts. This does not mean that every step and statement is coordinated; there is no such obgliation whatsoever. The president's meetings are not regarded as steps by the Hungarian Government, although these meetings are quite important. Besides, it is naturally in our interest to maintain the dialogue with the determining political forces in rump Yugoslavia. We would like to see relations get civilized and improved economic relations after the crisis, as well as rights for the 350,000 ethnic Hungarian minority there similar to the rights they enjoyed before 1988.

[Peto] Similarly to Miklos Gaspar Tamas, does the Foreign Ministry also regard President Iliescu's initiative for "historical reconciliation" as a turning point in Hungarian-Romanian relations?

[Szent-Ivanyi] We received this initiative as the draft of the three documents to be signed by both sides. The first document is a generally formulated festive statement on the intention for reconciliation. The second document is an Elysee-type agreement modeled after the German-French agreement of 1963, stipulating, for example, the consultation mechanisms to be set up by the top officials. However, little is mentioned about the content of the cooperation. The third document can be called a minority behavior codex, one that would not be legally binding—and thus, this differs from the relevant passages of the Hungarian proposal for a basic treaty—and it does not regulate the debated issues that remained open at the talks, like the guarantees for the use of one's mother tongue and the creation and operation of ethnic parties. It is notable that the original Elysee-treaty mentioned as a model was born when most of the French-German problems had already been settled. Unfortunately, in Romanian-Hungarian relations, events of recent months do not show this. The Romanian educational law and the law on the use of national symbols, a law that stipulates prison sentences for the use of the Hungarian flag or singing the Hungarian anthem, obviously aim at limiting the rights of national minorities in Romania. We do not want to distance ourselves from the Iliescu proposals, but we do not want to create an image totally different from the reality either. We cannot legitimate a political practice that seems to be increasingly stronger before the upcoming elections in Romania.

Horn Meets With Vojvodina's Hungarian Leaders

LD1710204495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian Government supports the unified autonomy concept of the ethnic Hungarians of Vojvodina, Gyula Horn confirmed today. At his talks with the leaders of the Hungarians of Vojvodina, the prime minister warned them that they can only achieve results by a unified stand. Ferenc Csubela, chairman of the Association of Vojvodina Hungarians, asked the prime minister to suggest to the Serbian president [Slobodan Milosevic] during his visit to Belgrade to move refugees who have been settled in Vojvodina to another area.

Andras Agoston, chairman of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians, expects that the prime minister will discuss a concrete autonomy model with Serbian President Milosevic.

Finance Minister Satisfied With IMF Talks

AU1710140495 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 16 Oct 95 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Finance Minister Lajos Bokros by Sara Pogany; place and date not given: "The IMF Again Has Confidence in Hungary"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Pogany] Before your travels, you told us optimistically that your talks with the IMF would be successful. You also brought a letter with you in which the IMF highly appreciates the achievements

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of the government program so far. How did you succeed in achieving this, and with what?

[Bokros] I myself was surprised at the level of appreciation the IMF, aware of our budget draft for 1996, showed for the achievements so far of the government program called the Bokros package. They see that the government wants to advance consistently on the road leading to Hungary's economic stabilization, and the occasional debates flaring up in the coalition or within the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] cannot divert the government from this road.

The fact that previously the IMF stuck to its demand that the budget deficit should not exceed 3 percent of the GDP, and now they agreed with 4 percent also shows that the IMF regained confidence in Hungary. In addition, the IMF will not come up with any demands that would represent a change to the budget proposal already submitted to the National Assembly. The Hungarian Government regards as its internal affair how to reduce the budget deficit, in what areas, and at what speed. The first sentence of the letter from the IMF also shows appreciation for the economic policy conducted so far; in this sentence, the IMF points out that the stabilization program adopted on 12 March 1995 saved Hungary from financial collapse and avoided the example of Mexico. We will give the letter to the press both in English and in Hungarian. IMF representatives will come to Hungary in December to sign the agreement. I do not want to mention any sum now but, according to the intentions of the Hungarian Government, we are talking about an 18-month credit, that is one that covers the entire government cycle.

[Pogany] Is this timing connected with the fact that the MSZP congress will take place in the last week of November, followed by the meeting of deputies of the coalition partner, the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]?

[Bokros] Of course, there is a connection between the aforementioned domestic policy events, and I would add that the National Assembly has to adopt the budget by 30 November, together with the deficit of the social security funds.

[Pogany] What if some sand gets into the machinery in the course of the budget debate in the National Assembly?

[Bokros] Obviously, everything can be imagined in politics, but I can say now that the government will firmly represent the position that it will not take any kind of lobbying into consideration, and people who want to change any figures during the debate should concretely name the alternative sources, because the budget does not have any reserves. I am confident that most deputies, including the opposition deputies, will display a responsible attitude for the benefit of Hungary's economic stabilization.

[Pogany] While you have been away, the labor affairs minister resigned, some of the socialists held a meeting in Hajos, and the mood slightly calmed down at the MSZP National Board meeting on 14 October. To what extent did this domestic policy situation affect your talks in Washington?

[Bokros] During my one-week visit there, I held an average of 15 talks. The partners were tactful and one could feel that the ongoing polemics in the country were not fortunate for Hungary's foreign evaluation. As I do not yet know who criticized what in the Bokros package, I do not take it upon myself to engage in details. In my opinion, it is the prime minister's responsibility what economic policy he conducts. I must add that Gyula Horn has never mentioned the "Bokros package"; instead, he always spoke of the government's economic policy program. I also fully agree with the prime minister in that the debates should be conducted in the government, and not in the newspapers. Democracy is for the National Assembly, and not for the government meeting. The prime minister is also right in his opinion that the government should present a united image outward, because the society demands and expects this.

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Izetbegovic: Gorazde Road 'Fundamental' to Talks

AU1710200495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency said today that the entry of a convoy of humanitarian aid to Gorazde was a good sign, but it still did not mean that the road to Gorazde was definitely open.

President Izetbegovic reiterated the view of the Bosnia-Herzegovina legal authorities that the opening of the road to Gorazde was one of the fundamental conditions for a successful resumption of the peace process.

Izetbegovic Commits to 'Undivided' Sarajevo

AU1710200595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Oct 95

[Report by Dzevad Kucukalic including statement by Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic in Sarajevo on 17 October—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kucukalic] Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic today visited the Sarajevo City Council, where he held talks with Mayor Tarik Kupusovic, Deputy Mayor Ante Zelic, Sefkija Okric, chairman of the Sarajevo Executive Committee, and representatives of political parties on the city council.

The mayor of Sarajevo reminded the president of the contribution of Sarajevo's citizens to the liberation war and proposed ways in which the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina could help its capital city in the economic, education, health, and political spheres.

It is interesting that no one from the state structures of the republic or federation had ever before paid an official visit to the Sarajevo City Council. On the other hand, no one from the capital's structures has ever participated in official talks with foreign delegations visiting Sarajevo.

After the talks at the city council, Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic said:

[Izetbegovic] I came here to meet the city representatives for two main reasons. One refers to something that is of lasting interest to the city: For us to reiterate once again before the talks in the United States that our commitment is to a unified city and an undivided city. I have had no doubts that [words indistinct] more to do with my personal preparations for these talks. The other is to discuss certain issues that are of current interest and relate to the situation in the city. There has been a sudden improvement in the situation [words indistinct], no shells, the roads are open and electricity and natural gas are entering the city. There is still no water, but I hope that we will manage to sort this out over the next few days. So the talks were concentrated on these issues.

Then the representatives of various services informed us about problems facing them and, of course, the first concern is the situation in the health and education service [words indistinct].

Sarajevo Officials: UN Delaying Fuel Deliveries

AU1610215295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The traffic along the blue route has not significantly improved, it was said at today's meeting of Sefkija Okric, president of the City Government, and Enes Bezbrod, head of the Sarajevo Security Services Center.

UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] is still checking every vehicle, thereby unnecessarily delaying columns of trucks that are waiting to cross the airport runway. This is delaying deliveries of coal and firewood and other goods to Sarajevo, which could have incalculable consequences for the citizens as winter nears.

With such behavior, UNPROFOR is violating the agreement on the inspection of vehicles by the random sampling method, which would enable much more efficient traffic along this road. The present organization of traffic on the blue route is turning this road into a bottleneck and is failing to help lift the blockade of the city. Therefore, UNPROFOR is being asked to adjust the inspection procedures on the blue route to the general situation in the city and thereby help make traffic along it more efficient.

Bildt Views Peace Process, Sees 'New Situation'

AU1810103095 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 16 Oct 95 pp 191-4

[Interview with Carl Bildt, EU negotiator in Bosnia; interviewer not identified; place and date not given: "Caught Up in Myths"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Bildt, the cease-fire is finally in force, initially for a period of 60 days. Will the big peace in the Balkans come into effect by Christmas?

[Bildt] I do not want to wait that long. I would like to have peace tomorrow.

[DER SPIEGEL] Who is listening to your desire?

[Bildt] No one, unfortunately. I will be happy enough if the cease-fire holds at all. Now the real difficulties are beginning. It will take a long time before the conflicting

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parties reach a peace settlement. The implementation of the peace plan will be very complicated and will last far beyond 1996.

[DER SPIEGEL] Might there not be setbacks now and then, for example because of differences of opinion between the Americans, Western Europeans, and Russians?

[Bildt] No. For the first time, they are all toeing the same line. The negotiators are unanimous that Bosnia-Herzegovina must be preserved as a state. We will never accept ethnic cleansing. We are doing everything to enable the displaced people to return home.

[DER SPIEGEL] The time for such noble declarations of intent is long past. In the meantime, the expulsions have been accepted. Will the final map not be marked with blood?

[Bildt] We have a new situation. Take Belgrade's President Slobodan Milosevic, the self-styled architect of the great Serbian empire. After four years of war he has realized that his dream can no longer be fulfilled. The population is tired of war, the economy is in shreds, and Serbia is isolated in Europe. Milosevic has altered his course, and is now seeking a peaceful solution.

[DER SPIEGEL] Then why does he not appear before his people and say: I have erred, I am abandoning my nationalist ideals?

[Bildt] None of the leading politicians in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo can go beyond their own shadows right now. They are all trapped in the kind of national myths and distortions of history that we in the west had before 1945. Each side views itself as a victim, and keeps searching for historical parallels until the idea about a suppressed people is finally confirmed. A man like Serb General Ratko Mladic is still obsessed with the battle of Kosovo. As modern Europeans, we must dispel this picture, and we will succeed in doing so.

[DER SPIEGEL] What makes you so sure? Hundreds of thousands of Serbs were driven from their homes this summer when the Croats and Bosnians struggled to regain their lost territories. Croatian President Tudjman would also like to redraw the borders in the Balkans.

[Bildt] Just like Milosevic, Tudjman will quickly realize that this will not get him very far in today's Europe. The Germans are exerting massive pressure on him. I very much welcome this engagement, because everyone has to be subject to the same law. The expelled Serbs from Croatia must have the possibility of returning to the old areas of settlement, just like all the expellees in Bosnia must be able to return to their homes.

[DER SPIEGEL] Who is going to enforce this? The 60,000-strong peace force under U.S. command which is being set up by the NATO partners?

[Bildt] No peace can be enforced by military means.

[DER SPIEGEL] But the Serbs condescended to hold talks only because of the massive NATO bombardments.

[Bildt] Indeed, the air attacks made the warring parties agree to a cease-fire, which is a major prerequisite for peace talks. But other resources are necessary to make all the parties desirous of peace.

[DER SPIEGEL] And what are these resources?

[Bildt] Nothing can be achieved with economic sanctions in the long run. After only a few months, a Mafia-run black market has developed, and the sanctions have become meaningless. Despite the total blockade, gasoline in Belgrade is still 30 percent cheaper than in Stockholm. But Europe has the political instruments to block all major construction aid in the Balkans, as well as the granting of credits and acceptance into international organizations. In the long run, such an isolation would be fateful for those concerned.

[DER SPIEGEL] But right now it is mainly the Americans, and not the Europeans, who have this power. Richard Holbrooke, the U.S. negotiator in the Balkans, stole the show from you last week.

[Bildt] Holbrooke is backed by a united U.S. Government, and this government is acting energetically to achieve a cease-fire. There is no doubt that the Europeans need the Americans, but Bosnia lies in Europe, and only the Europeans can resolve the Balkans problem, with the help of the Americans and with the involvement of Russia.

[DER SPIEGEL] What role should the Germans play here?

[Bildt] I personally would appreciate Bonn taking part in an international peace force. I am impressed by the way the Germans discuss their past. Misgivings have been overcome, and Germany need no longer stand in the shadows during the solution to the Balkans conflict.

[DER SPIEGEL] Does Russia not keep torpedoing European initiatives with its pro-Serbian attitude?

[Bildt] Even when nationalist tones sound in Moscow now and then—after all, they are preparing for an election campaign—there is still trust in Yeltsin and his government. The Russians have capable diplomats who understand the problems in the Balkans and are striving to find fair solutions.

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[DER SPIEGEL] The Russians are still firmly on the side of the Serbs. The Russian UN commander in Sarajevo said recently that the grenades that fell on the market place in Sarajevo last August, killing women and children, were fired by the Bosnians, and that the western states, against their better judgment, blamed the Serbs for the sole purpose of providing a pretext for the NATO bombing.

[Bildt] These are isolated slip ups. We need not take them too seriously. We peace negotiators, too, make mistakes now and again.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you trying to excuse the failure of the EU and United Nations in the Srebrenica safe zone last July? There, Dutch blue helmets stood by watching Serb units attack the Muslim enclave and massacre civilians.

[Bildt] I know fairly accurately what happened in Srebrenica, but it is still too soon to issue a final judgment. Even after four years of war, we have not succeeded in preventing violence by all warring parties against civilians. Imprisoned women and children are usually spared from acts of revenge, but not always. Men, and even boys below 17 and older men above 65, are usually dealt short shrift. I can only hope the latest cease-fire will put an end to these massacres.

[Bildt] But even you are prepared to hold further negotiations with war criminals like the Bosnian Serb commander Ratko Mladic?

[DER SPIEGEL] I met with Mladic once. But I recall the Swedish diplomat Count Folke Bernadotte, who hurriedly contacted Himmler during World War II in order to arrange the release of Jews in concentration camps. Because of this, many were saved. He who seeks peace must also seek talks with the warlords. But that does not yet mean that Mladic will have to appear before the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague.

Karadzic on Serb Republic, NATO, Future War

BR1710152395 Groot-Bijgaarden DE STANDAARD in Dutch 16 Oct 95 p 5

[Interview with Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic by Axel Buyse in Banja Luka; date not given: "Radovan Karadzic Sees NATO as a Monster From the Cold War—'Since Jesus Christ, No One Has Had To Suffer as Much as the Serbs'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka— It is close to midnight. Some of the bodyguards accompanying Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic on his inspection of the threatened Manjaca Mountain, north of the Muslim controlled town of Zenica, storm into the darkened cafe of Hotel Bosnia in the heart of Banja Luka. They are big men, and heavily armed too. They quickly search for something to ward off hunger and thirst. They prepare the arrival of their leader, who is to grant us an interview later that night after two days of waiting. In the town where there is no question of a cease-fire and where the refugees from the area of Sanski Most, 30 km to the west, continue to flow in throughout the day.

[Buyse] Recently on Bosnian Serb television you recalled the six strategic goals which your parliament drew up in early 1992. You spoke of separation from Bosnia at any price; protecting the corridor between the western and eastern parts of your republic; abolishing any border between the Bosnian Serbs and Yugoslavia; imposing the Neretva River as a border between Serbs and Croats; getting your part of Sarajevo, and access to the sea. Are you still striving for all six of these objectives?

[Karadzic] Yes. No one has ever reviewed them or redefined them. They are still on the table and we will see to what degree we can realize them politically, after the war.

[Buyse] Can you present a map of those parts of Bosnia which you want to see in your Bosnian Serb Republic?

[Karadzic] The front line is one thing, the definitive map is another. If everything were to depend on the front line, then we should have 70 percent, because we controlled 70 percent. If the front line were so important, then peace would not come quickly. If the final settlement is not just and fair, or let us say not equally painful for all the parties, then we will get a sort of Near East peace. Which means: a war every 10 years.

[Buyse] One of the objectives concerns abolishing the border at the Drina river. That comes down to the reunification of all Serbian areas. Do you regard something like that as still possible?

[Karadzic] I do not know whether we will form one and the same state. But there can be no border between brothers. Perhaps we will form another republic, or be part of a Bosnian union, or a Yugoslav federation, or whatever. But the Drina goes right through our historical Serb territory. Making an international border of it, with all the limitations that means, is unacceptable, because we are one people. On both sides of the Drina.

[Buyse] Still in this context. According to you the Bosnian Serb Republic must be a "minimal state" with full freedom for private initiative. But Serbia, the republic of President Slobodan Milosevic, is still a neocommunist country, certainly in the economic field. How do you see this cooperation?

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[Karadzic] I believe that we can establish a free society and market economy. And that the final destination of Serbia as well lies there. Even if in the beginning we do not have the same economic and political systems, then the trend will not be in the direction of socialism, but in the other direction. Serbia will tend to follow our example rather than the other way round.

[Buyse] You are one of the few leaders of a part of former Yugoslavia without a communist past. Do you see yourself and your party playing an important role in Serbia too?

[Karadzic] We already have a section there, even though it is not so developed due to a lack of efforts on our part. I regard a merger of several center or center-right parties in Serbia as possible. The best precondition for democracy in Serbia would be that there should come to be two large parties: a left-wing party and a right-wing one. Only then would the people exercise an influence and be able to choose. In this sense I believe that our party could become very, very important there (in Serbia), under its existing name or integrated with others.

[Buyse] A question about the future structures of Bosnia. What powers will Bosnia's central institutions get, in your view?

[Karadzic] I will make no predictions about that now. Because after this spilling of blood, none of us wants a strong central state. I think that we must leave some things to the future. We will get a foreign minister, one seat in the United Nations, central powers around energy....But the future will show whether we are to grow closer to one another or the other way round. It is the people who will decide whether they delegate powers or not. No one will keep powers for themselves if it does not benefit efficiency, if does not turn out cheaper as well.

Disappearance

[Buyse] Could this mean that the central Bosnian state is a temporary solution, which could disappear again?

[Karadzic] Life itself and democracy will decide what comes of it. If it turns out better for us to stay in a well-structured union, then we will stay. If this central state suffocates us, if it were to hinder the transition to a free society, if it hinders our international economic relations, then we would be crazy to stay in it.

[Buyse] Negotiations will take place soon. As regards the division of Bosnia, the famous 49-51 settlement from the international peace proposals remains: 49 percent for the Serbs, and 51 percent for the federation of Bosnian Muslims and Croats. You have repeatedly called this division "only the basis for negotiations." What do you mean?

[Karadzic] The international community put it that way. We are claiming more than 49 percent. First and foremost we Serbs are already the owners of 64 percent in terms of private property. But these percentages say nothing about the structure, the quality of the territory. Therefore we prefer to talk about the livability of the two states within the Union. In other words if the Muslims give us Sarajevo and Tuzla, which together account for 1 percent of the territory, then we really will give them 5 to 10 percent elsewhere.

[Buyse] How do you see the future of the only remaining Muslim enclave in east Bosnia, Gorazde?

[Karadzic] Of course territorially Gorazde cannot be linked with central Bosnia. That means that the area is not feasible. Of course we would give the Muslims the right to travel over our territory. But it would remain our territory. I do not think that it would be sensible for the Muslims to keep this sort of enclave. They would do better to exchange it for parts of Sarajevo, so that good connections are created between the Muslim part of Sarajevo and central Bosnia.

If they do not give Gorazde to us, then we will allow them nothing in Sarajevo. And one day Sarajevo will then become completely Serbian, surrounded as the town is within Serbian territory. Take good note: We would much rather prefer to see a good solution with two cities, although in that case we would be watering down our wine far more than the Muslims. But then we would at least have a clear situation. We do not support dividing Sarajevo, but we do support developing the city into two centers, which of course would be open to one another.

Peacekeeping Force

[Buyse] The Bosnian Serb Republic now has de facto international recognition. But the United Nations is still reporting that Muslims and Croats are being driven out. What guarantees can you give to the minorities in your republic?

[Karadzic] Even now the people remain free as far as possible and they are safe. Muslims and Croats. In Banja Luka and elsewhere. Although it is very difficult to give them guarantees in war circumstances like this. After the war they will certainly get them.

Do not forget that we have to deal with 600,000 to 650,000 refugees. People from regions which were devastated by the Muslims and Croats. People whose families were murdered and whose property was destroyed. Can you imagine: A Serb who saw his family killed, his

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property destroyed, in Zenica for example. They come to Banja Luka and they see blood relatives of the same Muslims who killed the members of their family. You can imagine after all that among these people you find extremists, people without tolerance?

[Buyse] Are you ready to accept NATO as a peacekeeping force?

[Karadzic] If you had been bombarded by NATO would you accept that organization as a peacekeeping force? I doubt it strongly. We have never accepted foreign troops on our territory. Perhaps our Parliament will accept foreign troops along the cease-fire lines, but not on our territory. We want to stay free. Our people do not want foreign soldiers with all that brings with it: Drug addicts, prostitution, AIDS, etc.

NATO is a monster from the cold war period. I do not know who NATO is supposed to protect its members states against. For you yourselves NATO is expensive in any event. So dissolve NATO! No, we do not want NATO here. Unless the Americans and Russians were to take care of the job together. We would accept that.

You know, I have a proposal which makes this sort of military presence superfluous. Just as Syria is able to maintain peace in Lebanon, so Yugoslavia and Croatia would get responsibility for peace here, under the threat of sanctions. If the Muslims and Croats cross the border, sanctions would be imposed on Croatia. If the Serbs violate the borders, sanctions would be imposed on Yugoslavia. Once the Yugoslavs are free of the sanctions weighing on them now, they will never allow us to make trouble. Be sure of that.

In that case instead of 70,000 soldiers, at most 5,000 to 8,000 military observers would need to be deployed, who would report who was responsible for violations. In the other case we would get a sort of Near East peace, with incidents, terrorism, and that sort of thing.

[Buyse] Among your own people, after the New York agreements at the end of August, there was much criticism of the fact that Belgrade would decide on the future of the Bosnian Serb Republic....

[Karadzic] Yugoslavia has never been for war. Milosevic had to follow us. He never supported resistance to what was happening in Bosnia. But our people want to remain part of Yugoslavia. And our people could not be reconciled to hostile regimes in Zagreb or Sarajevo. You saw it in Croatia. The Serbs could not stay there if their area became Croatian. With the memory at the back of their minds of World War One, World War Two.

I am not a magician, not a leader. I simply serve my people. I follow them. I could not convince them to do things which they did not want to do. Because they are not sheep. They knew very well that if Bosnia broke with Yugoslavia, the end was near for them. That is why they wanted me and my party to fight for Yugoslavia, and if that did not succeed, we would fight for our own sovereignty. Serbia has never dominated us either politically or economically. Because after all we differ a little from the political party which holds power there (grins). Even though in that ruling party in Serbia you have many people who think like us.

[Buyse] The disasters have rained down in recent months for the Serbs. There was the fall of west Slavonia, then of the rest of the Krajina republic. Belgrade seems prepared to give back the whole of east Slavonia to Croatia as well. Your troops have lost a large part of west Bosnia. How do you explain so much misfortune?

[Karadzic] It is simple. In Croatia some 300,000 people lived in west Slavonia and around Knin. They were attacked by Croatia—a state with five million inhabitants. A state which is not suffering from any form of sanctions. It was out of all proportion. When the Croats attacked, it was a lost cause. They could have held out a few months. But it was hopeless given that Milosevic had let it be known via Akashi of the United Nations that he did not plan to intervene. Therefore our people cleared the area in a few days.

In Croatia we make up 35 percent of the population. Croats and Muslims the rest—in addition you must also count the regular Croatian troops who also fought with them in the recent developments. In the civil war we fought successfully. But then we were attacked across the entire front by soldiers from the Croatian republic. That was completely out of proportion: eight million people against 1.5 million. David against Goliath. And on top of that you had the NATO attacks which destroyed our infrastructure, our telecommunications.

Crucifixion

[Karadzic] So much suffering has not been seen in the world since the suffering of Jesus Christ! We are being crucified. Even though we are literally only defending our homes. We were labelled the "aggressor." As if we came from the Serb republic. We who have lived here since time immemorial. We are the oldest population group in this country. The Muslims were Serbs once. How can we be aggressors in our own country?

We have been crucified by the entire world. By great powers. By the EU. And then punished again by NATO. We cannot fight against NATO. We Serbs have fought in many wars. But we have never provoked one.

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Serbs can put with a lot before they offer resistance. We are not good fighters at all. We are farmers, people who live in touch with the soil. We resisted dictators. Five hundred years of Turkish dominance. Fifty years of Austrian-Hungarian occupation. We fought only when we had no choice. We are not supermen. We do not like fighting. But we have no choice.

The West will not remain proud of what it has done to the Serbs. Certainly now that you are heading for serious problems with Islamic terrorists. We will no longer protect Europe against Islamic terrorism. Let them go, to Europe (the Bosnian Muslims). They look like Europeans. And they take pride in the fact that with their European appearance they are exceptionally efficient terrorists. Europe wanted an Islamic country here. Let them have it!

[Buyse] Papers which appear in Belgrade accused you of having left the Serbs in Krajina in the lurch....

[Karadzic] (laughs bitterly) These papers are probably working for someone who really bears responsibility for this disaster. How can we be made responsible for the loss of Krajina? We have to guard thousands of kilometers of front line. Our defensive lines are stretched out. We have no reserves. In the best case we could have served as a logistical base for Krajina. We could not send them troops because all our soldiers are vital here.

At the time Serbia did indeed give guarantees that Krajina would not be attacked (by the Croats). They would do well to be silent about guilt. Because otherwise they could be forced to recognize that they themselves bear that guilt. You see the United Kingdom threw itself into World War Two because of Poland. Yugoslavia did not enter a war because of Krajina.

[Buyse] Papers in Belgrade—VREME and TELEGRAF among others—wrote that General Mladic was summoned to Belgrade at the high point in the fighting in west Bosnia to get the Bosnian Serbs into trouble, and that he had no health problems at all.

[Karadzic] No, that is wrong. He did really have problems with his kidneys.

War Crimes

[Buyse] That break between Mladic and you this summer. Was it nonsense?

[Karadzic] No. I do criticize our officers a lot but perhaps Mladic least of all. What I could not accept from him was that he was covering career officers too. I was angry, because that meant that I, as commander in chief of the army, could not reform that army. We do not have enough officers. Many of them are linked with the Yugoslav leaders, communist leaders. Many of them are old-fashioned communists. Our people do not like that. Although I do not think that Mladic is a communist. I hope so and am convinced of it. But they protect one other like that, even when they have made a mistake. And that is unacceptable. People who are responsible must accept their responsibilities.

[Buyse] In Yugoslav diplomatic circles they appear convinced that the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague can play a role in the definitive winding up of the war. You yourself are one of the accused....

[Karadzic] (irritated) How is that? The whole tribunal was formed as a means to put pressure on the Serbs. Now they want to keep myself and Mladic away from the negotiations. But nothing which is settled without myself and Mladic will be respected (here) because we have a strong army behind us, and a lot of people support us. More than 90 percent. How can they tackle the crisis without us?

Some Serb leaders would like to see us play no further political role after the war in the sense which you suggested. But these people, our people, will never accept a socialist or communist again. During the past three and a half years they have enjoyed full freedom. Despite the war we did not have a single political trial. We did not have a single political prisoner. Those who have once tasted freedom, remain free.

Poetry

[Karadzic] I am not so crazy about politics as all that. I was a very happy man before I entered politics. It was my friends who pushed me into politics. Before the war I was never a member of a political organization. Until a month before the war I was simply a doctor. I earned good money—my wife is a therapist too. The state hospital, my private practice, psychiatry, poetry, friends, my family....I am not wild about politics at all.

Becoming an active politician happened to me. But that tribunal, that is something scandalous. I am elected. All the orders I give are on paper, they are published in our official journal. Our policy was clear and it was supported by our Parliament. It enjoys the support of our people. How can they label me a war criminal? For which crime? For protecting my people? For being at the service of my people? What is wrong with that?

[Buyse] In the outside world the Bosnian Muslims are seen as the underdogs of this conflict, and to me that seems connected to a large degree to your strategy of encircling and strangling towns, with the full dramatic impact. If you could do it again, would you opt for the same strategy?

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[Karadzic] No. I would simply take those towns. What stopped me was the large numbers of civilian casualties who would have fallen. We wanted negotiations, a political settlement. We did not want to conquer those towns even though we often could have done so. But something like that would have gone against our moral sense, and I did not want that. [Bosnian President Alija] Izetbegovic misused the suffering of his own people cleverly. If we did not shoot at them, then he did. He carried out bloodbaths among his own people. And the western media made them the underdogs. We could not stand up against that. Western journalists were not interested in our story. They were looking for something specific, something they could accuse the Serbs of.

This war is an example of what modern media and governments can do. They can arrange anything. Put on a show so that their people believe anything. While watching their television pictures or listening to their radios sometimes I myself almost came to the conclusion: We Serbs, we are real swine. They could put their stories together that well. But one day the world will understand us. In the two world wars we fought with the Americans, and the French. On each occasion the Croats were on the German side. And they would do the same again.

There will be a third war with the Germans, believe me. And then the Serbs will reconquer Krajina. I am telling you. Because this is not a just and fair outcome. There will be another war between the Serbs and Croats. And God help the Croats then. Because we will have a different sort of leadership and a different sort of ally than this time.

Buha Says Peace Accords 'Relatively Favorable'

AU1810141695 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Oct 95 p 1

[BETA report: "Peace Documents 'Relatively Favorable'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka—Aleksa Buha, foreign minister of the Serb Republic (RS), said at the RS Assembly session that the Geneva and New York peace documents are "relatively favorable for the Serb side." As SRNA reports, explaining the provisions of the Geneva document, Buha singled out in particular the decision that the "former Bosnia-Herzegovina (B-H) be made out of two entities, the RS and the Croat-Muslim federation, which will retain current constitutions."

Buha said that the Geneva basic principles facilitate "reciprocity in the just compensation for the lost property and parallel, special relations with the neighboring countries." "It is interesting that the New York document no longer mentions the two entities, but three nations that should be equally represented in the presidency, the parliament, and the government of the future union," Buha said.

Koljevic Comments on Cease-Fire, Peace Talks

LD1710200895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1921 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 17 Oct (SRNA)—The Serb side will not violate the agreement on cessation of hostilities, but if attacked it will defend itself, Nikola Koljevic, the Serb Republic [RS] vice president and chairman of the State Commission for Cooperation with the United Nations, said today. [passage omitted]

"A precondition for further peace negotiations is the return to the positions held on 12 October, and the main Serb stand will be that the capture of Serb territories after 8 September, when the basic principles for the development of a future 51:49 map, must be reversed," Koljevic said.

The RS vice president said that judging by the information available to him, the chances of the enemy approaching and threatening Banja Luka "are zilch." [passage omitted]

Cease-Fire Monitors Viewed

AU1810093395 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Nikola Koljevic, deputy president of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] and president of the committee for relations with UNPROFOR, said in Banja Luka today that the activity concerning the monitoring of the cease-fire has intensified. The sixth monitor arrives today, and 10 more UN members are expected to arrive soon to monitor the warring sides, said Dr. Koljevic, and explained:

[Begin Koljevic recording] The monitors insisted on maintaining communication at any time of day or night, that they later be deployed on the other side, and have communication among themselves. All the technical preconditions have therefore been met for both sides, and all the three sides in the conflict to realize that they will no longer be able to open fire illegally and without punishment. This, naturally, does not mean that the Muslim side in particular, which has been spoiled by the international community, will not open fire, and that our forces should not be prepared to defend themselves, which they have the natural and the international war right to, it does not at all mean that we should not be prepared to see them break the cease-fire at any moment and defend ourselves [passage indistinct]

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precisely because [words indistinct] the observers at that level now, and there will be more of them.

This tells us that the international community has decided to impose peace this time, and that nobody will [passage indistinct], and nobody is approaching Banja Luka, and the citizens should [passage indistinct], and according to all the information I have, and I have the most information at the moment [passage indistinct], there is no chance that Banja Luka will be militarily threatened in this situation. [end recording]

According to Koljevic, U.S. General John Shalikashvili has threatened that the punishment for breaking the cease-fire will [words indistinct] the Muslim-Croat side. The monitors will be deployed in such a way that they are able to [words indistinct] as soon as possible.

Bosnian Serb Front Criticizes Assembly Results

LD1710134295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1212 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—The recently founded Patriotic Front of Krajina, which comprises 11 political parties, societies, and associations from the Serb Republic [RS], sent an open letter today to RS President Radovan Karadzic.

The letter says that "cosmetic conclusions" are being offered instead of radical changes, although the people are seeing "the utterly irresponsible conduct of the People Assembly's deputies, the state and military leadership, and especially deputies from Krajina."

"Instead of resignations or dismissals of key culprits for the current situation, which the people rightly expected, the resignation of a government which ruled only on paper and of generals who were not directly in charge was staged, and thus the manipulation and deception of the people continued," the Patriotic Front's open letter to the RS president says.

The Patriotic Front concludes that this unenviable situation is a consequence of "risky and willful policies pursued by the state leadership," which has not developed an efficient law governed state capable of organizing defense, but under the guise of democracy has looked after personal interests, profitee , and tolerated the state of lawlessness.

It stresses that an atmosphere of fear and totalitarianism is being created through total media censorship and heralds arrests and persecution of freethinking and well-intentioned persons who draw attention to weaknesses.

The Patriotic Front also demands that defense must have absolute priority, hence logistic support, personnel changes, and full consolidation of the command system must be insured.

The front also demands that commitments to soldiers, the families of killed soldiers and war invalids, be respected, state bodies reduced, and those working against the interests of the state and the people removed.

The Patriotic Front of Krajina believes that the negotiating process should continue, that it must not be jeopardized in any way, and that all parts of the Serb Republic should be treated equally in the process.

At the end of its list of demands the Front asks for an immediate appointment of a mandator of a government of national salvation which should be elected with the consent of all political factors.

"We expect that in the interest of the Serb nation you will see this letter as a sign of our readiness to contribute to the defense of the people and the state as well as the last warning that the fate of the nation cannot and must not be toyed with. If this is not the case, the people will organize themselves to defend their interests and fight for their survival," the letter says.

The initiative for setting up the Patriotic Front of Krajina was launched by the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic, the Serb Radical Party of the Serb Republic, the People's Radical Party—Nikola Pasic, the Krajina Democratic Party, the League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia, the Banja Luka-based Liberal Party, the Yugoslav Democratic Party, the Association of Families of Killed Soldiers, the Association of the Serb Republic's Women, SUBNOR [the Federation of the Associations of World War II Veterans of the National Liberation War] and the Association of Private Businessmen.

It is said in conclusion that any other party, association, or political organization in the Bosnian Serb Republic can sign the letter and join the Patriotic Front of Krajina.

Army Rejects Assembly Move To Oust Generals

LD1810084295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0121 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Republic Army's headquarters announced late this evening that the proposal of the Serb Republic to replace the generals in the main headquarters and the decisions which could possibly follow "on the basis of such an arbitrary proposal" cannot be accepted, because this would "contribute to the destruction of the functioning of the command system of the main headquarters and the army as a whole."

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The public statement recalls that at the 54th session of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic held on 15 and 16 October in Banja Luka, it was concluded that it should be proposed to the Serb Republic president and the Serb Republic's supreme commander of the armed forces that Generals Milan Gvero, Djordje Djukic, Zdravko Tolimir, Grujo Boric, and Lt Col Milovan Milutinovic be thanked and relieved of their duties for, as the statement says, their alleged failure to carry out the duties entrusted to them and for taking measures against officers who commanded the units which abandoned the front in a disorganized way.

"Generals, Gvero, Djukic, Tolimir, Boric and Lt. Col. Milutinovic, in whose departments there were no failings that led directly to the loss of territory, have been wrongfully accused, and without proof. We believe that the motives for the proposal to the president that he replace them are of an entirely different nature," the statement says.

The Serb Republic Army main headquarters, the statement stresses, has always been in favor of the strengthening of all responsibility in connection with the defense of the people and the preservation of Serb territory. "And it, itself, is prepared to bear its share of responsibility for this historic task. Unfortunately, we do not share the view that deputies best perceived who was to blame for the loss of territory and the exodus of part of the population of the Serb Republic. We are surprised that at this session, as at some previous sessions of the Assembly, there was no debate about other, for this juncture, much more important issues relating to the defense and survival of the Serb Republic and the Serb people. Instead, political issues were debated and we saw an unprincipled settling of scores with individual generals and the Serb Republic Army's main headquarters as a whole," the statement says.

At the Assembly's session in Sanski Most on 15 April, the main headquarters highlighted the essence of the problem of the defense and supply of the army and warned of what was to come, the statement says, and states that the Assembly and state authorities failed to pay due heed to this, so that the problems increased, and events unfurled in an unfavorable way—something which the main headquarters drew to the attention of the supreme command, the state authorities and the Assembly several times.

"We do not dispute the Assembly's right to debate any issue it chooses, but it is not hard to see that in a state of war it is not necessary openly to discuss the replacement of generals. It would be easy to show that this even amounts to anti-constitutional and unlawful conduct. We are convinced that the People's Assembly was used as public platform to gain support for the decisions—obviously adopted prior to the session—to replace the generals. Several past attempts to replace the generals failed. This time the Assembly was used in order to gain public support for and justify the decision on radical changes in the main headquarters. This is why we insists that the Assembly was abused," the statement says.

The Serb Republic Army's main headquarters goes on to claim that a campaign has been going on for some time now against the Serb Republic Army and some individuals in it in an attempt to shift the responsibility for the failings of the politicians and to place the blame on a handful of generals and officers. The Serb Republic Army's main headquarters sees this as an attempt by individuals and some state bodies to shun responsibility.

The Serb Republic Army's main headquarters further says that all this points to "a blatant power struggle by some leaders of the ruling party who mistakenly think that officers and generals are an obstacle in the efforts to stabilize the authorities and see them as a reason for the decline in their election prospects."

"Individuals and the leadership of the Serb Democratic Party persist in their unfounded claims that the officers are their ideological opponents and are keen therefore to see them go despite the well-known fact that the professional army cadre is depoliticized and nonpartisan," the Serb Republic Army's main headquarters claims in its statement.

Serb Official Comments on Replacement of Generals

LD1810144195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1252 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Jagodina, 18 Oct (SRNA)—Vice President Biljana Plavsic of the Serb Republic said today that adoption of the initiative to replace generals at the last session of the Serb Republic Assembly came as a consequence of the fall of almost one-half of Bosnian Krajina.

In a statement for Radio Jagodina, carried by the BETA news agency, Plavsic said that at the session the assembly removed the suspicion that 12 Krajina municipalities were ceded to the Croats and Muslims in accordance with the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina in relation to the 49-51 percent model.

Badly organized Serb defense enabled the Croatian army to seize 12 municipalities in 25 days—those who were directly tasked with defense of that part of the Serb Republic are responsible for it, Biljana Plavsic said.

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Asked to comment on the Karadzic-General Mladic relations, the Serb Republic vice president said that "by virtue of the very fact that there were problems, some consequences have to be felt now."

Plavsic described a request lodged by independent deputies at the last session of the assembly for the replacement of some people from the Serb Republic leadership as a "dishonorable" act in their struggle for power, while 1.4 million people are "suffering pressure from so many enemies."

Document Cited on Karadzic Plot Against Mladic

LD1710211795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The assembly of the so-called Serb Republic, as you probably know, after a several-hour meeting in Banja Luka, ended its work by picking out as scapegoats four generals of their ruined army—Gvero, Djukic, Tolimir and Boric—and Prime Minister Kozic. They will no longer be in the posts they have occupied up till now.

According to well-informed observers, this assembly has further deepened the gulf between the military and civilian leaders of this phantom creation, and it is only a matter of days before the tense relations explode. That this will most probably end in assassinations, as has always happened in the settling of scores between Serbs throughout history, is demonstrated by a document which we have obtained from a colleague of ours on the aggressors' side and which is marked "Military Secret; Strictly Confidential".

From the orders of the head of security of the second Ozren light infantry brigade, Second Lieutenant Nenad Polosic, it is clearly evident that Karadzic decided to kill Mladic and thus resolve the conflicts both with him and with others who do not share his views.

The document referred to and which you see here on your screens, gives the following orders:

Operation codenamed Juda: On the basis of reliable sources in the security department of the main HQS of the Serb Republic Army, the security department of the First Krajina Corps and the security department of the Ninth Operational Group, we have received information that the murder has been ordered of Col. Gen. Ratko Mladic, commander of the general staff of the Serb Republic Army, and Maj. Gen. Zdravko Tolimir. In connection with the above, you are obliged to take the following measures:

First, during visits by the above persons and of Lt. Col. Gen. Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of the general staff of the Serb Republic Army, and Lt. Col. Gen. Milan Gvero, assistant commander for morale and political questions, to your zone of responsibility, you are obliged to undertake all physical and counterespionage security measures.

Second, you should inform only your commanders of the murder which has been ordered and you should take counterintelligence measures to protect your person.

Third, in the event that the person who gave these orders and the person who is to carry out the crime is discovered, you must urgently inform this department and document the event. You must immediately arrest each person responsible and, after carrying out appropriate security measures, you should take the person or persons responsible to the nearest prison and immediately inform the security department of the ninth operational group in order for appropriate measures to be taken.

Anything you learn about this operation should be reported immediately to the department of the Ninth Operational Group-Operation Juda.

Ganic, Zubak View Federation, Peace Process

LD1810115695 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2310 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The HVO [Bosnian Croat forces] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina army control 326,754 square kilometers of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This information was made public on Sarajevo TV this evening. The program pointed out that federation forces now control 52.26 percent of the total area of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Our colleague Milenko Karacic asked Ejup Ganic [member of the Bosnian presidency], and Kresimir Zubak, [president of the Bosnia—Herzegovina Federation], what the further intentions of the Croat and Bosniak leaders are. [video shows Ganic and Zubak being interviewed in the open near Kupres after opening of the Livno-Kupres-Central Bosnia road]

[Begin recording] [Ganic]] We are going to the negotiations, but unless there is a balance with regard to the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor, there can be no thought of a stable and just peace in this area. So the results are good. They could be better still, and they will be better.

[Karacic] Mr. Zubak, what are the next steps?

[Zubak] Apart from what is already known, we should focus a bit more on how to work out a system of authority at the highest level of the federation, above all in the government. A political agreement has already been achieved—namely that we should separate the government of the republic from the government of the federation in terms of organization and personnel

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so that the government of the federation might have full authority throughout the whole area of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation, or those areas controlled by the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina army. I am talking about institutions here.

Apart from this, as Mr. Ganic said, we should now be taking new steps to strengthen the joint command so that the highest ranking officials in the HVO and in the Bosnia-Herzegovina army will at the same time be in joint command. They should not have their own appointees there.

The third thing is that we should now, if this cease-fire holds, also realize and [word indistinct] the authorities in the area of the cantons and work a bit more intensively on the return of refugees and displaced persons. This will be one of the most difficult tasks but we hope that the future government—this is the primary task of the government—that the future government will take on itself responsibility for organizing the return of all refugees and displaced persons. Above all, we are now creating political preconditions, and among other things a basic precondition is to free this area. [sentence as heard] All of this has now been created and now we have the slightly more complex procedure of the return of the displaced.

[Karacic] Are you an optimist?

[Zubak] I, personally, am an optimist. However, you see, much depends on how these peace talks end in the United States and France. Everything will probably end in France. If they end with an agreement which should resolve the overall crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, then I am an optimist, then it is possible. If it does not end in a resolution of the overall crisis then I believe there will be further joint military actions to impose a peaceful solution.

[Karacic] Mr. Ganic, could I ask you the same question. Are you optimistic?

[Ganic] Well, you see, I am an optimist because we are gaining in strength internally. You know, when this area here [Kupres] was occupied, we would not have been able to meet here or talk about linking central Bosnia with the Republic of Croatia via the shortest route. We have made a step forward with the liberation of this area, you see.

So we will negotiate. But the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor must understand that they can only retain what belongs to them, that is, what they own privately, but not other people's property. So it would be good if the talks end in a peace agreement but if this does not happen we have no alternative but to liberate Bosnia-Herzegovina as both the HVO and the [Bosnia-Herzegovina] army have done so far, hand in hand, and simply against the chetniks.

You know, it is difficult to accommodate fascism and humanism in one state, under the same roof. Where the chetniks are—that is fascism. Here in free territory we have humanism. So I do not know how the international community thinks it can put these things together under the same roof. If the people who are responsible for this aggression and for the genocide which was initiated by the army of the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor are not removed from the scene, I believe that the Serb people must themselves reexamine their aims. If they allow themselves to continue to be led by people who are responsible for war crimes, then we will not get very far. If they turn toward democracy and if they seek to be represented by normal, tolerant people who respect the rights of others, then something can be expected. [end recording]

Federation Constitution Seen Progressing Well

AU1810102995 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (Europe Edition) in Serbo-Croatian 5-12 Oct 95 p 3

[Interview with Ismet Dautbasic, president of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Pero Jurisin; place and date not given: "The Test of Mostar"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ismet Dautbasic, professor at the Law School in Sarajevo and the president of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, visited the territory of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the first half of September, as the head of the delegation of the Constitutional Court, for the purpose of getting an insight into the implementation of the two constitutions of the Republic and of the Federation and of the Washington agreement, i.e. the implementation of the Federation. That is why our first question concerned the level of constitutionality and legality in the specific conditions of war and of constitutional duality, which up to now has not been known in the legal practice.

[Dautbasic] Despite all the difficulties in the conditions of the existence of two constitutional regimes, and with regard to objective circumstances, we can be satisfied with the level of the protection of constitutionality and legality. On the ground it can be seen that the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina is gaining in significance daily. We in the Constitutional Court [of the Republic] are waiting for the Constitutional Court of the Federation to start working. The reason that it has still not started functioning is the absence of foreign judges, whom the International Court of Justices selected to represent the international element in the federal court.

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[Jurisin] There are many dilemmas concerning the constitutional duality of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Dautbasic] The further development of the process will also depend on the will of those who implement it. We should not be too critical, because these are complex legal and political relationships that cannot be solved overnight.

[Jurisin] The Croatian side stresses that the Federation is the creation of two nations, whereas the Bosniak side claims that it is the community of cantons.

[Dautbasic] The Federation is the expression of the cantonal system, which can be seen in the fact that cantons do not wear national names but mostly geographic ones, or some other which are not exclusively associated with the national element. It is true that it is the federation of the Bosniak and Croat people, but out of that one cannot conclude that the entire arrangement, apart from the collective, does not have the individual aspect of arrangement. By acknowledging, beside the collective rights, also the individual rights of the citizens, one also acknowledges the right of the third corpus—the third people, to join, once the conditions are ripe, and accept the agreement chosen by the other two peoples as the only modus vivendi which secures development of both peoples and the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders.

[Jurisin] Many believe that the biggest problems in the implementation of the constitution and of the Federation are in the realization of human rights?

[Dautbasic] Such occurrences are making the life of the citizens harder and provoke revolt and bitterness, because they can be removed with a little bit of understanding and readiness to cooperate, no matter whether it merely concerns obtaining birth certificates, or registration plates.

[Jurisin] The fact that the legal state does not function makes people feel endangered, and want to leave their environment, even Bosnia-Herzegovina itself, which additionally worsens relationships between nations?

[Dautbasic] True. The war has influenced the quality of work, but it has also brought about changes in the personnel, so that some services which require expert knowledge, and even some of subtle nature, cannot be performed. In the conditions of insecurity and poverty that only makes things worse, so that people, seeing no perspective, look for other solutions. When we talk about the Federation, the blame for that situation lies both on the Bosniak and on the Croat side, that is, on their representatives—the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] and the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ], which should pay more attention to this, having in mind that they are identified with the respective people. At that, it is very questionable whether those two parties represent the entire population of the Bosniak and the Croat nation.

The functioning of a state can be seen in procedures of the issuing of ordinary certificates, or of passports. Those problems are not hard to remove, and that is the task of those who have the power of the parties that agreed as a coalition, they would build the power in the Federation.

[Jurisin] A constitutional amendment provides that, in its arrangement, Mostar will be a city. Does not such a definition of Mostar imply its division in two municipalities, which might also be used for the division of Sarajevo into two parts?

[Dautbasic] The entire process of organizing a city agglomeration and communal services is a complex topic. It is no longer possible to maintain municipalities of more than 100,000 people. That can be seen in examples from the West. According to the federal constitution, municipalities will no longer have the competences they have had up to now. In such a constellation, cities must consist of several municipalities. In that sense, the division of Mostar is a normal thing. If the division were on an exclusively national basis, in our conditions it would cause trouble. That has already been proved, and therefore people reject divisions. The essential condition is to bring self-rule closer to the citizens. So that Tuzla and Zenica will also not continue being municipalities, they will have to construct a new structure and organization.

Just like that, Mostar should be organized in the way that would serve the city, that would leave it as it is, with its natural economic, cultural, historical, communicational and other resources, and not divide it with a Berlin wall, which in the 21st century would have medieval characteristics. So, if that division of Mostar is in the function of its prosperity, it is welcome. In that sense, it should be a test, and that experiment should not be given up or feared.

[Jurisin] That means that this should be implemented throughout the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Dautbasic] Absolutely. Big municipalities cannot remain the way they were. That is nonsense. They should represent new organizational-administrative structures, regardless of what they are going to be called. In that sense, the republic constitution should be changed, in the way proposed by the federal constitution, which, despite all the criticism that can be said about nearly all of its parts, also contains modern elements that are recognized by the modern world.

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Croat Official Makes Threats Against Muslim Town

LD1710203995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2030 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 17 (TANJUG)- Bosnia's Croatian Democratic Union President Dario Kordic on Tuesday threatened Muslims that croatian forces would capture the central Bosnian town of Bugojno by force because it was historically a Croatian town.

'Croats have always lived in Bugojno, they will continue to live there, and everyone must realize that,' Kordic said as carried by Muslim Radio Mostar.

The radio said Kordic gave the statement after a plan for the return of 17,000 Croats to Bugojno had fallen through. These Croats had been banished from the town by the Muslim army in the summer of 1993.

During their 14-month war with Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Muslims banished 180,000 Croats from central Bosnia.

After a year of heavy clashes between Muslims and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the two sides signed an agreement on a binational federation in Washington in March 1994 at the insistence of the United States.

The Washington agreement provided for the possibility of this federation confederating with neighboring Croatia. However, the Croat-Muslim federation has not started functioning to this day.

Croats Seen Trying To Destroy Bosniak Culture

AU1710205695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] As the MINA agency reports, the Croatian side in Mostar is persistently trying to move the bodies of soldiers that were killed in the struggle against the chetniks before May 1993. They want to turn Sehitluci, [a cemetery] where the bodies are buried, into a park, but the idea is to wipe out all traces of the Bosniak identity in the western part of Mostar.

Mostar Mufti Hadziseid Efendi Smajkic and the relevant state bodies have reacted strongly to this and opposed the intentions of the Croatian side to turn Sehitluci into a park. The Bosniak side will not allow that at any price. Only a small number of Muslims live on the territory under the control of the Croatian Defense Council in Mostar, and in [words indistinct], and other places. When they die, they are not allowed a Muslim funeral. Three such cases have been reported recently, MINA reports.

UN Says Serb Refugees Face Diseases, Parasites

AU1710190095 Paris AFP in English 1839 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Oct 17 (AFP)— Tens of thousands of Serb refugees crammed into the northwest Bosnian towns of Banja Luka and Prijedor are threatened by disease due to unsanitary conditions, the UNHCR said Tuesday [17 October].

Health workers in the two towns, whose populations have been swollen by Serb refugees fleeing Bosnian Government offensives, reported widespead bronchitis, urinary tract infections and dysentry, the last due to gastro-intestinal infections.

People are living in very cramped conditions, said UNHCR spokesman Ron Redman. They do not have enough toilets or adequate means to wash themselves. There are lots of tics and fleas, and there have also been "sporadic cases of tuberculosis," he added.

The arrival last week of 30,000 additional refugees in Prijedor and 10,000 in Banja Luka have turned what was already an extremely difficult situation into a critical one, Redmond said.

"Health conditions are deteriorating dramatically," he emphasized.

On Friday, a helicopter shuttle was established between Zagreb and northwest Bosnia, but fog forced the cancellation of many flights. "We need to deliver detergents, soap, rat poison as well as medicine and food," Redman said.

Refugees Outnumber Local Population in Prijedor

LD1610191795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1847 GMT 16 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prijedor, Oct. 16 (TANJUG)— About 30,000 Serb civilians have fled to the town of Prijedor after joint Bosnian Croat-Muslim and regular Croatian Army troops captured the town of Sanski Most, in western Bosnia, the local Commissariat for Refugees has said.

Together with the 35,000 refugees who arrived earlier, the refugees in Prijedor now outnumber the local population.

U.N. representatives, who visited Prijedor on Monday, were able to see for themselves the gravity of the humanitarian situation.

The town came under fierce artillery fire over the past two days, but since Sunday night the situation has been calm.

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After occupying large territories in the western parts of the Bosnian Serb state Republika Srpska, combined Bosnian Croat-Muslim and regular Croatian Army troops continued attacking Bosnian Serb settlements despite the ceasefire which came into force on Thursday.

UN Reports Murders, Expulsions by Serbs

AU1810140095 Paris AFP in English
1330 GMT 18 Oct 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 18 (AFP)—Some 100 Moslems were believed murdered by Bosnian Serb soldiers after they refused to leave their homes in Serb-held northern Bosnia when ordered to do so, UN aid officials said Wednesday [18 October].

The report, along with other testimonies detailing rape, beatings and summary executions, comes from the survivors of the latest wave of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia where more than 6,000 people have been chased from their homes in brutal circumstances.

Nearly 1,500 people were expelled from homes in the northwest corner of Serb-held Bosnia in the last week. The towns and villages targetted by Serb extremists were close to frontlines where government forces have advanced against the Bosnian Serbs.

The murders were alleged to have taken place while the Serbs were ethnically cleansing one town, Bosanski Novi situated on the Bosnian-Croatian, UN aid officials said.

"One interviewee told us that around 100 Moslems who refused to leave their homes, as they had family members doing work obligation, were murdered. Her (23-year-old) son was involved in collecting the bodies from the houses," a UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] report on the testimonies states.

The woman's son subsequently managed to leave the area and reach government territory where the UNHCR says he has been drafted into the Bosnian (government) army.

Around 350 Moslems were also rounded up in the town a fortnight before they were bused out on 6 October and 8 October for a nightime crossing of frontlines further to the east.

The UNHCR said these people were kept by the Serbs "for five days without being provided with food or water. There were no bathrooms and children were not permitted to cry. Wearing black uniforms and black and red berets the men involved in rounding everybody up were thought to be of Arkan's units," the UNHCR reported.

Zeljko "Arkan" Raznatovic, a Belgrade-based criminal boss has played a key role in the expulsions of some half a million non-Serbs from Serb-held Bosnia. After an abscence of some months, he has re-emerged on the scene apparently orchestrating this latest wave of ethnic cleansing.

Though the expulsions have been a constant feature of the Bosnian conflict, this recent upsurge has gone hand-in-hand with government and Croat advances deep into territory held by the Serbs for most of the war.

UNHCR spokesman Kris Janowski, described accounts of the expulsions from the town of Prijedor now a frontline Serb stronghold as "equally chilling".

Here, the Bosnian Serb army "went from house to house to round everyone up and forced them to the (football) stadium. They had between five and 10 minutes to pack," the UNHCR said.

One 55-year-old woman in Prijedor refused to come with the soldiers as she had a son and a brother-in-law in the army, the UNHCR official explained. Her son subsequently arrived "and the situation calmed."

However, the following day the soldiers returned and took all three away. "The mother was stabbed to death, her children survived, but are both in hospital," the report stated.

Once on Serb buses though, the abuses continued. The UNHCR recounts testimony describing how Bosnian Serb soldiers forced the many elderly and female refugees across a river at night and charged one women 600 German marks to carry her invalid mother across the water.

During the Serb screening of those allowed to leave the area, "many were beaten and everything of value was taken away. One woman showed where soldiers had ripped aprt seams of her dress and the soles of her boots to check whether she had any money hidden there.

"One interviewee saw two dead women in the forest, but did not know how they died. Two young girls of around 17 or 18 years were taken away by Serb soldiers and not seen again. They heard screams from the woods and they fear they were raped and maybe even killed," the UNHCR said.

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Commentary Examines UN, Serb Propaganda

AU1310094895 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 6 Oct 95 p 2

[Commentary by Jozo Pavkovic: "UN Working for Serb Propaganda"]

[FBIS Translated Text] What the General Staff of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army stated about UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation] spokesman Christopher Gunness's remarks about an armed conflict in the Bihac region could be summarized as follows: "This is a mere fabrication, with the aim of provoking conflicts between Bihac Croats and Muslims." Moreover, both said that they were surprised by the lack of seriousness that the UN spokesman and the EU observers had displayed in presenting such disinformation.

The attempt to present the public with news of a conflict between the Croats and Muslims occurred as early as when the area was encircled, and particularly after the disappearance of General Santic [formerly HVO commander in Bihac region, who went missing, presumed dead, in March 1995]. The Serb propaganda machinery knew that, if they managed to push the information through, they would easily conquer the "enclave," in which five different armies were fighting: Dudakovic's 5th Corps, Abdic's forces, the HVO, forces of the "Serb Republic" and of the "Serb Krajina" [Serb-held areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, respectively], as well as various other armed groups. Everybody was fighting against everybody, depending on the time and motive, except for the HVO and the 5th Corps. So they too had to be involved in the war and the story about incidents between them continued after the blockade was lifted. For the stories to be more convincing, reasons were made up, most often Zeljava Airport, unresolved relations at the border, the relay station on Mt. Pljesevica, newly liberated towns, and so on.

Having realized that these lies were not finding fertile soil in which to grow, Serb counterintelligence agents changed their approach. They involved the UN in the game, too. Though they have no confirmation of this as yet, people in Bihac now believe that the EU observers swallowed this Serb bait, or perhaps some of them even created this Serb propaganda. People from the town, particularly those from the Headquarters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO, wonder whether the observers will feel ashamed when they see Dudakovic in good health, trying to consolidate the lines in cooperation with Prsa's [current HVO commander in Bihac region] HVO. And those seven soldiers who, according to the observer's "local, reliable sources," were killed in the incident, are doing the same.

There is more. Croat-Muslim relations in Bihac are indeed burdened by several problems, some of which are difficult. Aware that they have to solve them by a constructive agreement, they are seeking solutions that would be to the satisfaction of both. Both are aware of the danger that even the smallest incident could result in fighting between Croats and Muslims that only here in Bihac has never occurred. The enemy knows very well what such a war would mean for them and, according to them, the only reason it did not happen was because Bihac suddenly became an enclave, having been in Yugoslavia prior to that. Relations were simply frozen, isolated from the rest of the world, and they could not even be infected with nationalism, just as they were protected from drugs and all the other vices. Now that the blockade has been lifted, there is the chance to infect the area with all these diseases. The aim of yesterday's information about Croat-Muslim fighting is precisely to provoke a war, which would, in that case, happen on the Croatian border for the first time. Is there any need to say what that would mean?!

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Croatian Troops Said Attacking Serb-Held Baranja

LD1710203595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2002 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vukovar, Oct. 17 (TANJUG)—The Croatian army is continuing firing rocket launchers and infantry weapons on Serb positions in the region of Baranja (U.N.-protected Sector East), the Vukovar-based Serb Krajina Army 11th Corps said on Tuesday.

The Serb Krajina army issued a statement saying that these actions, together with movements of the Croatian army troops recorded over the past few days, are a part of Croatia's preparations for an armed aggression on the Srem-Baranja region.

The statement said that units of the Croatian army stationed on the right bank of the Drava River on Sunday and Monday night attacked Serb Krajina troops. The statement also said that the Croatian army launched attacks from Nustri towards Brsadin and from the Osijek elevated highway towards Tenja.

U.N. representatives have also confirmed the massing of Croatian troops on the borders of the Srem-Baranja region.

The Srem-Baranja region is the only part of the Republic of Serb Krajina not occupied by the Croatian army.

In May the Croatian army occupied Western Slavonia, and in August the northern and southern parts of Serb Krajina forcing 250,000 Serbs to flee their ancestral homes.

The town of Erdut, in the Srem-Baranja region, was on Monday visited by the Co-Chairman of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, Thorvald Stoltenberg, and U.S. Ambassador in Zagreb Peter Galbraith. The two officials met with the region's representatives to discuss the continuation of the talks with Croatia.

The Serb Krajina-Croatia talks were discontinued on Oct. 9 in Zagreb.

The Serb negotiators proposed that the talks be reopened next Friday and that they be held alternately in Ilok, town in the Srem-Baranja region, and in Osijek, city in eastern Croatia.

Serb Civilians Prepare To Flee Eastern Slavonia

AU1710200395 Paris AFP in English 1944 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Oct 17 (AFP)—Croatian authorities cancelled talks planned for Wednesday [18 October] with leaders of Serb rebels in eastern Slavonia as residents of the last Serb-held area in Croatia prepared to flee a feared military attack. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile the Yugoslav National Army held military exercises in the Vojvodina region of Serbia, just over the border from eastern Slavonia, reported the independent Yugoslav BETA news agency. [passage omitted]

The United Nations, which has observers and peacekeepers based in Eastern Slavonia, said in a statement released Tuesday that schools had been closed Monday.

"There are reports of women and children preparing for evacuation from communities in and near the sector's zone of separation" between Serb and Croatian forces, the United Nations said.

"Tension is likely to increase inside the sector in expectation of an attack in the near future," it added. [passage omitted]

General Zvonimir Cervenko, the chief of staff of the armed forces, on Monday said that Eastern Slavonia, remains a "possible theater for conflict." [passage omitted]

Troops Encircle Refugee Camp of Abdic Dissidents

AU1710184495 Paris AFP in English 1811 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Oct 17 (AFP)—Hundreds of Croatian soldiers surrounded a refugee camp for several thousand supporters of dissident Bosnian Moslem Fikret Abdic in Croatia near the border with Bosnia Tuesday [17 October], the United Nations said.

"Three hundred men from the special forces and 100 ordinary soldiers have encircled the camp," set up in early August by the Moslem rebels chased by the Bosnian Army out of their base at Velika Kladusa, northwest Bosnia, a UN spokeswoman said here.

UN officials criticised the "threatening" presence of the Croatian troops outside the squalid camp, set up in a swamp just north of the Croatian border.

"There seems to be no intention to force people back to Velika Kladusa. That may be an optimistic sign," said a spokeswoman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Croatia has said several times it wishes the refugees to return to Bosnia.

The Croatian forces encircled the camp saying they wanted to re-establish law and order "in view of recent incidents," including some killings, said the UNHCR spokeswoman. The force commander said they wanted

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to set up boundaries around the camp and restrict residents' comings and goings, the UNHCR official said.

Fikret Abdic, a former member of the Bosnian Presidency who rebelled against Sarajevo in 1993 and fought alongside Bosnian and Croatian Serbs, is currently believed holed up at a Croatia seaside resort after being kicked out of northwest Bosnia by the Bosnian Army in August.

Some 20,000 to 22,000 Abdic supporters—coming from his birthplace and powerbase Velika Kladusa—were allowed to the Bosnian-Croatian border but have not been allowed farther into Croatia and do not wish to return home, fearing Bosnian retribution.

A UN official said that the number of Croatian troops deployed around the camp made it the largest show of force since the refugees had set it up.

At the end of August, Zagreb tried to persuade the refugees to leave, bringing tanks up to the camp and firing in the air, said humanitarian groups at the camp.

The refugees, who include 300 to 400 armed Abdic soldiers, mostly say they wish to go to a third country.

"If the army wants to push them back, they have to do it by force," the UN official said. The UN has periodically reported hearing gunshots from within the camp.

Serbs Decry Croatians' 'Provocative Actions'

LD1710181695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Vukovar, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—The Serb Krajina Army 11th Corps headquarters in Vukovar announced today that the provocative actions of the Croatian Army in the Srem-Baranja region yesterday and last night were most frequently directed at Serb positions in Baranja.

The statement specifies that positions of the Baranja Division were targeted by infantry weapons, antitank weapons, Zolja hand-held rocket launchers, and 60-mm mortars, from the right bank of the Drava in the Pampas region near Osijek, from Valpovo, and from Topolje.

The Croatian Army also fired from Nustar at Brsadin and from a road intersection on the outskirts of Osijek at Tenja.

These actions, as well as the Croatian troop movements registered over the past few days, are assessed by the 11th Corps as Croatian preparations for an armed aggression against the Srem-Baranja region. [passage omitted]

SRNA Reports Croatian Attacks in E. Slavonia

LD1810114495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1101 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar, 18 Oct (SRNA)—Croatian Army units are continuing occasional infantry attacks against Serb positions and villages in eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, the Slavonia-Baranja Corps of the Serb Krajina Army headquarters in Vukovar announced today.

The statement specifies that infantry weapons' fire was opened from Nustar on Brsadin and from Trbusanci and Osijek at the areas of Vrapcani and Vinogradina. No soldiers were wounded.

Croatian formations are continuing intensive reconnaissance activities and bringing up new units.

Spokesman Cited on Cancellation of Osijek Talks

LD1710164895 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] As we reported earlier, the scheduled talks between representatives of the Croatian government and local Serbs will not be held in Osijek tomorrow. Hrvoje Sarinic [Croatian chief negotiator] said this after today's talks with Thorvald Stoltenberg and Peter Galbraith, U.S. Ambassador to Croatia in Rijeka. Ivan Zoric-Puljic reports:

[Zoric-Puljic] Following an hour of talks, Mr. Sarinic made the following statement:

[Begin recording] [Sarinic] Ladies and gentlemen, you saw that we had relatively lengthy talks, which unfortunately bore no fruit. There will be no talks in Osijek tomorrow. However, Mr. Stoltenberg and Ambassador Galbraith will have consultations with Belgrade etc. in order to see whether and how it is possible to make progress.

As far as Croatia is concerned, our position is absolutely firm and we shall not give in and we shall not be dragged into any sort of game, like those we were dragged into for two-and-a-half years and then all that resulted in Operations Storm and Lightning, etc.

I am personally astonished that the Serbs have not drawn appropriate conclusions from all that.

Rest assured that the Croatian government will not give in. We have also set a deadline and we shall not go beyond that deadline. Either there will be serious negotiations or there will be other means by which we shall establish our sovereignty over the territory of eastern Slavonia, western Srem and Baranja.

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You saw the document which we signed in Erdut. These are the basic elements to which we have agreed to, but this is not enough. We must finalize that in the form of a final document, which will result in the establishment, i.e. in the reintegration of these areas into the constitutional and economic system of the Republic of Croatia and without any special status, without autonomy, as it is envisaged in the Erdut document, in which Point 11 defines the Croatian government stand. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Croats Reject Talks With Srem-Baranja Serbs

LD1710220295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2135 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Oct 17 (TANJUG)—Negotiations between the Croatian authorities and representatives of the Serbs from the Srem-Baranja region, scheduled in Osijek on Wednesday, will not be held, chief of the Croatian negotiating team Hrvoje Sarinic stated on Tuesday.

Following talks with American ambassador to Croatia Peter Galbraith and co-chairman of the peace conference on former yugoslavia Thorvald Stoltenberg, Sarinic stressed that Croatia 'will not give in' and added that Zagreb, in case negotiations were unfeasible, would 'apply other means to bring eastern Slavonia, Baranja and western Srem under its sovereignty.'

Stoltenberg and Galbraith, in talks with Sarinic in the Croatian seaside city of Rijeka, tried to win Croats' approval for resuming the dialogue with Serbs in Osijek, the city in the east of Croatia where the U.N. base is located.

Stoltenberg assessed that the negotiations between Croats and Serbs in Erdut—the town in the Srem-Baranja region which is the only part of the RSK (the Republic of Serb Krajina) not occupied by the Croats—have had a good start and now too much time is being wasted on procedural questions.

He also expressed hope that the dialogue would be resumed soon.

Galbraith also said he expected a resumption of the negotiations and added that efforts would continue towards finding a peaceful solution.

Following the first-round negotiations, the Croats announced they did not want the dialogue with the Serbs to be continued on a 'neutral territory,' presumably a foreign embassy or a locality under U.N. control, but solely on the 'sovereign Croatian territory.'

The delegation of the Srem-Baranja region, at the talks with Stoltenberg and Galbraith in Erudt on Monday, proposed that negotiations be held alternately in Ilok, the city in that region, and in Osijek.

Serb Moves Seen as 'Buying Time' in Talks

AU1610124395 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Oct 95 p 10

[Commentary by Bojan Divjak: "Unduly Inflated Balloon of Self-Praise"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As early as 3 October it was obvious that the optimism after the meeting held in Erdut, expressed by Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairman of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia (ICFY), and Peter Galbraith, U.S. Ambassador to Croatia, the organizers of the talks between the representatives of the Croatian Government and the rebel Serbs from the remaining occupied territory, is only an unduly inflated balloon of self-praise. The "basic principles for the negotiations about the agreement on eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem" then adopted, have already at first reading stated clearly to anyone who is the least bit informed that there was nothing of—as the aforementioned international mediators called it—"a historical step." Moreover, everything that the Serb negotiators said publicly in the following days led to a complete nullification of that document, which was, after all, unsigned, and whose contents in today's circumstances, in fact guaranteed that it would never be realized.

Negotiations for Negotiations' Sake

Any interpretation that it was a slight move forward, as well as the assessments that the representatives of the rebel Serbs finally realized and decided to negotiate seriously, have been either attempts to justify one's own diplomatic activity, or evidence of complete ignorance of the situation. The Serbs, that is, various Milanovics, Hadzics, Dokmanovics, and Loncars are to be seen only as Milosevic's spokesmen, they in fact have not moved even a millimeter from the Serb constant of negotiations for the sake of negotiations. They have, it is true, accepted orally the principles mentioned, but how can one trust the Serbs when they sign something, let alone when they express their verbal agreement. Even in Erdut it was transparent that their sudden peaceful rhetoric was not the consequence of enlightenment, but the mere carrying out of instructions from Belgrade, of the tested method of buying time. That there is not even the least bit of goodwill in the real negotiating effort for a peaceful solution, is demonstrated by the recent killing of three civilians in eastern Croatia in the period after the Erdut meeting, as well as the constant Bosnian Serb artillery attacks, which nobody can claim as having nothing to do with Belgrade and the rebel

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brotherhood in Croatia. One also has to emphasize that for the aforementioned so-called representatives of the so-called Srijem-Baranja region, who are a bunch of war criminals, no peace is acceptable. They would never negotiate peace, so they are not to be treated as serious collocutors, but as relatively precise indicators of the current position of Belgrade and the moves that the Serbian leadership intends to make in the following period. If we accept them as a kind of litmus paper of Serbian intentions, then we may certainly conclude that there is no place for optimism. Belgrade simply wants to keep the remaining occupied territory and is by no means thinking about its reintegration into the constitutional and legal order of the Republic of Croatia.

After all, from the very beginning of the U.S. initiative, it has been clear that Serbia wants to separate the problem of eastern Croatia from Bosnia-Herzegovina and break the integral package of solutions. Serbia can in no way expect more in the neighboring state than it has today. Therefore, it wants to reach a peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina relatively quickly and thus get rid of the sanctions so as to enter unburdened the final battle (first a political, and eventually perhaps a military battle) for eastern Croatia. In such a situation Croatia had to react swiftly, to offer solutions, and to be ready for negotiations in order to prevent Bosnia-Herzegovina from becoming the absolute theme and, as it seems, Croatia undoubtedly succeeded in that. A year's "transitional period" has been offered with the local authorities and the police structured according to the 1991 census; after Erdut, the chief negotiator Sarinic extended that offer to a period of 18 months, offering even Croatian consent to change the demographic picture [ethnic structure] of eastern Croatia (he stated that Zagreb agreed that the Serb citizens of Croatia who did not want to return to western Slavonia or to the territories liberated in Operation Storm, could stay there), and some kind of international "transitional authority" consisting of the Croats, the Serbs, but also the representatives of the UN, the United States of America, and Russia. The result of those concessions on the part of Croatia, in the name of peace, remains in one whole package, but the real result, reintegration, was not and probably will not be achieved. Nor will peace be the method of the solution whose seed could be fertile in this field. For Serbia negotiates with the aim of stealing as much time as possible and keeping the occupied area, Croatia negotiates in order to shorten the time and as soon as possible to get back what it has been deprived of. It is a very difficult matter to bring those two extremes to any kind of agreement.

Baranja and Vukovar on Horizon

However, if there are no reasons for negotiating optimism, there are reasons to believe that Croatia will soon be on the Danube, because the positions of both sides today clearly give considerable advantage to Croatia—first of all, because of the military force that has been built in recent years, alongside which Croatia's political power has grown (any delusions about justice and innocence in war is a mere stupidity that loses every battle against far more important data on the number of tanks and rocket systems). Therefore, Croatia can decide on the order of moves and determine the right time, making full use of international circumstances. Croatia today can set conditions and be as resolute as it was last Monday in Zagreb when it set a formal but essential condition to the rebel Serbs that there would be no negotiations in various embassies and UN headquarters, but only in the sovereign territory of the Republic of Croatia, either on free or occupied territory, thereby destroying the constant Serb aspiration to give the talks an international character. By refusing that condition, the rebel Serbs in fact refused the negotiations and untied Croatia's hands. If they do it again and do not escape to Serbia quickly enough, it could easily happen that they return to Zagreb in handcuffs and are hauled into court. The only fact that is important today is that Croatia has set 30 November as the deadline and this date is the last chance for the Serbs.

Then, free Baranja as well as Vukovar is on the horizon exactly at the time frequently mentioned by defense minister Susak, supporting his words with reference to Kata Soljic [a mother who lost her four sons in Vukovar].

There is nothing new about the negotiations. Chief Croatian negotiator Hrvoje Sarinic gave the best explanation: History is an excellent teacher and only needs good pupils. Their public and the quasi-politicians who represent them do not have to reach far into the past to find teachings—only a couple of months back. Nevertheless, by their will, in the negotiating procedure, the Erdut principles have instead started flowing down the Danube. It seems, therefore, that the day when a Croatian river flotilla sails down that mythical Croatian river is becoming more and more certain. In other words, the boats of the Osijek River Gunboat Flotilla are thirsty for the waters of the Danube.

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Commentary Views Candidates for General Elections

AU1710141395 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 11 Oct 95 p 5

[Commentary by Branko Podgornik: "Ministers Against Anonymous Candidates"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ever since the political parties announced their state lists and put forward their candidates in the constituencies, many observers have been trying to judge by the disposition of the candidates what is happening in the parties and the prospects of their success in the elections.

It is interesting that the state list of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] has been reinforced by many new and familiar names and that other well-known names have been left off the list or from the constituencies. For instance, Sime Djodan is not on any list. After his disputed speech in the Assembly, he has not been put forward as the candidate of the Dubrovnik region, where he was elected assembly deputy three years ago. Instead, one of the most popular members of the ruling party, Mate Granic, has been put forward.

Pavletic High on the List

There is no place for Gordana Turic and Vice Vukojevic on the state list either. True, Vukojevic has been put forward as deputy of Andrija Hebrang in the 28th constituency (Sesvete). If Hebrang remains minister of health care, Vukojevic could still enter the Assembly—that is, of course, if the HDZ wins in Sesvete.

It is assumed that the three have been pushed aside because of their inclination to radicalism, but it is still not known why Ante Klaric, Boris Segota, or Dalibor Brozovic, who are considered to be moderate politicians, have been left off the list.

There is also no place on the state list for Franjo Greguric, who was at the very top three years ago. However, he has been put forward as a candidate in the Varazdin constituency, where the opposition—which has put forward Zvonimir Sabati as a counter candidate—is quite strong. Rumors say that Greguric, after leaving as director of INA [Oil Industries], is the leading candidate for director of the Podravka food processing plant if Majdancic enters the government. Academician Vlatko Pavletic, who several years ago got into a conflict with Vukojevic, is unusually high on the HDZ state list—fourth place. Some better informed observers claim that Pavletic is one of the candidates for chairman of the Assembly.

The HDZ and the opposition have put forward many well-known people, and some less known as well. For instance, in the 24th constituency (Novi Zagreb), on behalf of the united opposition, the Croatian Social Liberal Party [HSLS] has put forward Mario Livaja against Zarko Domljan of the HDZ. Livaja is not a member of either the Big or Little Council of the HSLS, even though he has been a member of the party since the very beginning. Moreover, he used to manage an HSLS branch in Novi Zagreb. However, Livaja's deputy is the much more prominent Karlo Gorinsek.

The Croatian Peasant's Party [HSS] has put forward Slavko Krnjak as the opposition candidate against Hebrang in Sesvete. He is not known to the wider public, but is quite well known in Sesvete as chairman of the HSS local branch, a private entrepreneur, and owner of a farm.

Known and Unknown Candidates

Furthermore, the Croatian Independent Democrats [HND] in the 25th constituency (Susedgrad) have put forward on behalf of the opposition the not so well-known Alojz Brkic, member of the Central Board of the HND, while in the 13th constituency, they have put forward another Brkic—that is, Dinko Brkic, who is not known to the broader public. In the competition with HDZ candidate Joso Skaro, minister of work and welfare, and his deputy Bozidar Kalmet, the mayor of Zadar, the anonymous Brkic does not stand a chance.

The Croatian National Party [HNS] has put forward Vice Vukov in Sibenik, and the Socialist Democratic Party [SDP] has put forward Slavko Linic in Rijeka, while in Maksimir in Zagreb the SDP has put forward Zdravko Tomec on behalf of the opposition. They will not be easy rivals for their counter candidates. Moreover, in Gospic the HND has put forward the well-known Slavko Degoricija, but the problem of the opposition is that in the constituencies that used to be or still are partly occupied, the HDZ is so strong that the opposition has almost no chance whatsoever.

The HSLS has not put forward some of their strongest and most prominent candidates, like, for instance, Vlado Gotovac, who is second on the state list. This also applies to Bozo Kovacevic, Mladen Vilfan, and Goranko Fizulic, who are in ninth, 13th, and 16th respectively, although they have not been placed as high as some people expected them to be. It is presumed that the leadership of the HSLS, like those of some other parties, has come to the conclusion that the Croatian voters care more about the party than the popularity of the people representing it.

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Industrial Output Increases by 1.2 Percent

AU1710135295 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 17 Oct 95 p 8

[Report by HINA: "Industrial Production Rises by 1.2 Percent"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—According to September data from the State Institute for Statistics, Croatia's industrial output in the first nine months of the year increased by 1.2 percent compared to the same period last year.

Nevertheless, in relation to last year's overall average output, industrial production this year is less than 1.1 percent.

Surveying the branch structure of industrial output calculated on the basis of the 1992 gross national product, it is easy to see that the greatest segment, or 47 percent, pertains to primary materials and manufacturing components, the amount of which produced in the first nine months of the year equals last year's overall production.

Contrary to this, the production of commodity goods, which in branch structure claims 39 percent, was 2.8 percent smaller in the first three months of the year in comparison to all of last year; however, the intensity of production in the first nine months of last year has remained unchanged.

The remaining 14 percent in the branch structure pertains mainly to the manufacture of tools, the production of which has risen by 4 percent in comparison to the first three months last year.

The largest increase in production in the first three months of this year in comparison to last year has been reported in the production of oil derivatives, almost 37 percent. This is followed by an 18 percent increase in machine manufacture and a 15 percent increase in the production in nonferrous metallurgy.

By contrast, the greatest decrease has been registered in coal processing, which in the first nine months of this year decreased by as much as 99.6 percent. This is followed by minor industrial production in ferrous metallurgy, which has decreased by 40 percent.

Serbs' Alleged Theft of Croatian Oil Detailed

AU1810103495 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 13 Oct 95 p 33

[Article by Salih Zvizdic: "Robbery Under Torches"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] According to Prof. Dr. Mirko Zelic, director of the Oil and Gas Production Department in Naftaplin [company], from the outset of the robbery as far back as February 1991, the chetniks have stolen a total of 600,000 metric tons of oil, which at the average world market price would have a value of $65 million, and some 25 million cubic meters of gas worth about $320,000!

The damage is widespread. The whole oil area, with three oil fields (Privlaka, Djeletovci, Ilaca) and a total of 74 oil wells scattered in an area 24 kilometers long, is being "robbed," as geologists and oil field workers say, by the outlaws, which practically means that by irregular exploitation they have reduced the period of usage of the field. The stolen Croatian oil then goes to Serbia and serves to run Chetnik tanks, carriers and other vehicles in the rebel Serbs' hands. And finally, before the eyes of the whole world, this robbery has violated UN Resolution No. 757, by which sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro were imposed.

In the Beginning They Stole It by Tank Trucks...

[Passage omitted] In the beginning they were pumping the oil from erupted wells, that is, where the oil came to the surface by itself under natural pressure, and later on, when they provided for the electricity supply, they started to extract oil by using "swings" (depth suction pumps), because out of 74 oil wells, 33 are "eruptive," while from all the others oil is being pumped out by "swings." In place of the reservoir they had themselves destroyed by their shells, they have built up a new 5,000 cubic meter reservoir in Djeletovci. Those reservoirs are necessary because the pumped oil cannot be transported until the gas and salt water in it are removed.

As long ago as the early eighties the Ina-Naftaplin company built an oil pipeline through which the oil from Djeletovci was transported to the port of Ruscica on the river Sava near Slavonski Brod, and that pipeline ran almost parallel to the "Yugoslav pipeline" from Omisalj to Pancevo and Novi Sad. In the beginning the Serbs transported oil to the Pancevo refinery by tank trucks, and later, in September 1992, they linked a section of the Ina company pipeline to Ruscica by a so-called bypass with the Yugo-pipeline near Mirkovci, before the UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces] eyes. Since then they have been transporting the stolen oil by pipeline to Opatovac on the Danube, from where the oil went to Pancevo, and they have also used the other branch pipeline of the Yugo-pipeline to Novi Sad. Due to the inexpert methods of those employed when the pipelines were connected and later on, they had two fires, which only by sheer luck did not cause an ecological disaster in that area.

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Oasis of Wealth in Total Misery

Oil from Djeletovci has caused a real economic boom, or rather—it has been an oasis of profit in the total misery of the occupied areas. [passage omitted]

All "the early Serb guerrilla fighters" were elbowing their way to take part in the oil production and sale because it has not only enabled them to earn a lot but also to share in the illegal sale of petroleum products. It has been the most profitable "company" of the so-called SAO [Serb Autonomous District], because all employees earned their wages by two days' work, and everything else was pure profit, which needed no investments. Beside oil, they made big money in merciless, uneconomic exploitation of oakwood (they have been exporting it to Serbia, Cyprus, Greece, and some other countries) from the famous oak forests described in the novels by Kozarac. [passage omitted]

Hadzic Controls Game

Nevertheless, the one who has made most profit out of oil and wood, is Goran Hadzic, president of "SAO," once a warehouse man in VUPIK [Vukovar Agricultural and Processing Plant], who originated from Pacetin, a village situated between Vukovar and Vinkovci. [passage omitted] He has bought several villas in Belgrade and invested hundreds and hundreds of thousands of German marks in various banks in Cyprus and Greece.

[Vojislav] Seselj, leader of the Serb radicals, also wanted to have a share of all of that money, and when Hadzic did not allow him to have as much as he wanted, in March 1993 Seselj publicly accused Hadzic of stealing. [passage omitted] It all ended when Hadzic accused Pero Golubovic, removed him from his office, and then put in his favorite, Branko Miljevic, also a thief.

In September 1993, at the session of so-called Assembly of SAO in Beli Manastir, Milan Martic, "president of Krajina," who wanted his share of the river of millions of German marks, involved himself more seriously. To achieve that, he put his man as the head of "Krajina-Petrol." However, after heavy clashes, Hadzic won the victory and put into that office his friend, Gojko Kovacevic, a car-sprayer from Mirkovci, whom the "government" in Knin did not want to accept. However, Hadzic maneuvered and the appointment was confirmed by the municipality of Mirkovci "because the oil is in that municipality."

Arkan Runs Oil and His Personal Army

Apart from Hadzic, the second person making a profit out of Djeletovci oil, and some people say the first, is Zeljko Raznatovic-Arkan. This professional criminal, who dares not go to Europe because he is wanted by Interpol on account of robberies and murders in Belgium, France, and Germany, today practically keeps the whole oil business under his control. He also owns three big, modern gas pumps in eastern Slavonia. He has grown so strong that he has subordinated to himself the highest Russian UN officers in eastern Slavonia, whom he had bribed. In return they have been taking care of his oil and other interests.

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Gligorov To Leave Hospital 'Very Soon'

AU1710205395 Paris AFP in English 2033 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Skopje, Oct 17 (AFP)—Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] President Kiro Gligorov will be able to leave hospital "very soon," medical sources told AFP here Tuesday, two weeks after he was seriously wounded in an assassination attempt.

Doctors said earlier Tuesday that Gligorov, 78, was in "good" health, but was still undergoing treatment.

Surgeons operated to remove a clot from Gligorov's brain immediately after he was hit by shrapnel from an exploding car bomb.

A week later, they operated on his right eye.

"The president's condition has been fine for several days, so he should be able to return home very soon, but will remain under permanent medical control," the source said. [passage omitted]

Commentaries View Gligorov Assassination Attempt

Need for Political Order

AU1810075495 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 14 Oct 95 p 13

[Commentary by Aleksandar Soljakovski: "Errors and Delusions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ten days have passed since an event which will cause the people in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], particularly in the political field, to raise a number of questions. Of course, answers will have to be given to these questions. Even if everything continues in the best order this time, another similar experience will certainly not pass so easily, regardless of the traces it may leave behind. The trauma remains, lectures must be learned.

The assassination attempt against the president of the republic raises many questions in the most sensitive areas of the functioning of a society. There have been questions about the functioning of the institutions of authority, about the political relations among the political partners, about the relations between people and the authorities, about the division among the people over the present strategic issues, about general and particular security, about moral responsibility....

An old proverb says that civilized nations study in schools, in universities, while we—in mistakes. This proverb can be currently applied to a great extent. This time, too, we must take the mistakes as a starting point in correcting our own delusions.

Continuity

It is undoubtedly worthwhile that the political ruling team has succeeded in proceeding with its efforts to solve relations with the southern neighbor. Let us recall that in the days after the assassination attempt a law on the new flag was adopted, the parliament ratified the accord with Greece, and discussions on mutual relations have neither been stopped nor postponed. In the meantime, the expected happened—admission to the OSCE, and it seems that Macedonia's admission to "Partnership for Peace" is becoming very possible. By all this, a possible political crisis was overcome in the best way, which was certainly something that the organizers of the attempt had counted on. If these very important political activities had been stopped in any way, it would have been the best signal that the attempt had partly hit the target. Whether consciously or unconsciously, the authority decided to continue the political processes under way.

However, it became evident that this authority has a truly mature and conscientious people. The level-headedness with which the citizens of Macedonia (of course, with some "honest" exceptions) endured the situation after the assassination attempt was not shared by the authority. Except for the first reactions of the Assembly chairman on the day of the attempt, when he said that there will be no deterring from the defined policy, no political personality addressed the public for days, particularly not from the person who is in charge of security, who did not appear in public at all to calm the people and say that there was no need for panic. Even the opposition showed more virtue and contributed to calming the situation by postponing the protest rallies, regardless of whether it did it because of fear or conscientiousness.

However, although this time we could understand the authority's consternation because of the unusual nature of the situation (although when the destiny of the state is at stake there can be no excuses), we cannot understand the immediate political games and speculations over possible combinations of political succession or continuity. Notions about the impossibility of keeping the coalition were presented immediately, which could confirm, in the best way, the theory that the present political line is connected to one person. Namely, if the temporary absence of President Gligorov can be an occasion for changes in the authority's structures, for the abolishment of what was called the Alliance for Macedonia, then we can throw away everything that is being done to prove that the political course is unchangeable. In that way the authority and the political parties would confirm the theory about the connections of policy with one person and that would mean approval for the assas-

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sins. If a policy is linked to one person only, in principle it does not have any perspective.

Confrontation

If the authority now engages all its energy in settling the accounts with the opposition that has finally raised its head after so long and is passing to "counteroffensive" in its self-justification, profiting from the symptoms of the authority's consternation, then the target will certainly be missed. The Democratic Party said this at its news conference two days ago in trying to defend its right to a different opinion.

It is exactly here, in the right to a different opinion, that we have to look for the present political struggle. It is certain that the people in Macedonia are divided. On the one side are those who support the present policy of giving concessions in international relations and in solving relations with neighbors, while on the other side are those who consider concessions treason.

These are two extremely opposite views that will hardly be combined. It is really difficult to talk between partners if the one sees the future of his people and country in progress, economic reconstruction, association with the world, for which it is necessary to make concessions, while the other connects the future with the flag, historic inheritance (and mortgage), with his greatness, and he is ready if necessary to sacrifice his own people for that. The only outcome for the advocates of the first approach is to decrease the power of the latter. This can be achieved only with the arguments of a political action, by showing the real achievements of such a policy. If this is missing, the latter will be strengthened and the division will become stronger.

It is understandable for the government to make all necessary efforts to confirm that its view is justified, but if it does not succeed, it risks self-elimination from the political scene. So, the political struggle, not political liquidation and discrediting, is the only means left for the authority. It is not necessary to eliminate someone who claims that the Macedonian will lose his identity if he loses the flag that was charged to him as a "cuckoo's egg," again because of the negligence of the policy. We wonder if it is not an insult for the Macedonian, who has remained consistent and affirmed his identity under more difficult circumstances than the present ones. Is it not an insult "to fear" that the Macedonian will bargain with his identity in exchange for some swimming in the Aegean Sea or for some patches of clothing from Via Egnatzia [shopping street in Thessaloniki]? If this is so, are we talking about a nation at all?

There is no alternative to the open policy. It is a policy that will explain, persuade, prove. Only this policy is strong, because to do this it is necessary to have confidence in one's own positions and views, to be confident (first in one's own eyes) in the particular political strategy. There can never be a good outcome if the manipulative spheres of the policy are closed.

This time it is possible to make things right. After all, it is more due to luck than political skill. However, it will be political incapability if conclusions and experience are not extracted from the created situation. The only reason is—not to repeat these mistakes!

Terrorism by Emigre Groups

AU1610213095 Skopje PULS in Macedonian 13 Oct 95 p 14

[Unattributed report: "Extremists on the Field"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Among the many official and unofficial pieces of information about the investigation into the assassination attempt against President Kiro Gligorov, the PULS editorial house has received information from some sources that, unlike in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], in West Europe some extremist organizations of Macedonian emigres have been preparing terrorist acts in Macedonia.

PULS does not have information as to whether any of them are on the top list of suspects in the assassination attempt. Beside the arming of a "paramilitary army" (which ended in court) and the "exercises" of Macedonian "volunteers" on Mt. Pelister before and during the departure of the Yugoslav People's Army from Macedonia, the public at large has not been informed about any organized terrorist activities by extremist Macedonian emigres or of totally radical groups in Macedonia. PULS is now addressing this taboo subject without intending to identify or accuse those who carried out the assassination attempt.

According to some unconfirmed information, in 1993 an assassination attempt was prepared against President Gligorov, but not carried out. There is some knowledge that during the Conference for Human Rights in Vienna another assassination attempt was also prepared against Gligorov by an organization that was tied to the extremist and even radical currents of political forces both abroad and in Macedonia.

Experts on Macedonian emigres know, for instance, that there is an extremist Macedonian organization that has been preparing somewhere in Switzerland, Germany, and Croatia for a struggle against all those who are against Macedonia and the Macedonian nation. According to these sources, this organization operated on military principles and was financed by its membership (100

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to 200 German marks per month). Members wore black uniforms, red berets, and bullet-proof vests, while they carried out military exercises mainly in a field in Karlsruhe, about which the German police were informed but did not react. Our services also know that this organization wanted to "enter" Macedonia through joint venture enterprises and trade offices. This organization particularly "focused" on the activities of Albanian emigres in Germany. Uniformed members of this organization participated in a protest meeting on 19 March 1993 in Bonn, after Macedonia's admission to the United Nations.

This organization allegedly went quiet after the German police attitude toward Macedonian extremists changed following an act by the RAF [Red Army Faction] terrorist organization in 1993. Nevertheless, according to PULS's sources, in 1994 the same organization carried out three terrorist acts in Rotterdam. There is information that the organization was preparing a terrorist act in Belgrade during a soccer match between Belgium and Macedonia, but the operation was canceled after information arrived about the extensive measures of the Belgian police. Allegedly, similar acts were also planned in Germany and in other West European countries. There is also the knowledge that extremist Macedonian nationalist groups from Germany had suggested some people in Macedonia known to be "arms enthusiasts" and great extremists to carry out terrorist acts in the country, threatening that otherwise terrorists from Germany would be sent. There are also reports that this Macedonian extremist organization cooperated with the international terrorist organization "Meduza," renowned for renting out its terrorists for the needs of other extremist organizations.

Moreover, our sources claim that activities of an illegal group by the name of "Legion of Honor" have been observed in Macedonia, with its members communicating using codes. Although this group is under the "umbrella" of a legally registered organization, they do not reject terror as a method of "political" struggle.

'Domestic' Origin Considered

AU1710170095 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 16 Oct 95 p 4

[Commentary by Zoran Petrov: "And Yet, Were the Assassins—Amateurs?"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

Who Uses Cheap Explosives for an Assassination Attempt?

Today, 12 days after the assassination attempt against President Gligorov, in reviewing all the hitherto known elements and facts, we are able to present some totally different conclusions that give the act another more serious connotation. Actually, we could re-examine the question of whether the assassins really were high professionals. In order to give an answer, that is make a conclusion, we must first clear three officially known theses.

The first is related to which of the world's "affirmed" terrorist groups, organizations, secret services, or so on would use a cheap explosive for an assassination attempt? The answer is—none. It is known, for instance, that it is sufficient to read the papers and the lurid chronicles of big spectacular attacks with explosive devices to see that always, without exception, either a plastic explosive, or, if a suicide is involved in the attempt (it is a specialty of the Near East terrorists who foster the cult of self-sacrifice), explosive means like hand grenades, mines, and so on are used. The cheap explosive, or in the Skopje event—the ammonal (also known as amonium-nitrate explosive) is practically unsuitable for such activities because of several reasons. First, it has far less explosive capability than plastic explosives (ammonal about 4,000 meters per second, hexogene up to 10,000—detonation speed); it creates far less pressure and temperature in the core of the explosion; and what is even more important—and why it is used in stone quarries or surface pits—because it has exceptional bursting and breaking power. Hexogene or oxogene (plastic explosives) have the so-called destructive, crushing power and are less bulky, easier to be shaped, easier to be activated, and with a longer duration. Why did the Skopje assassins then use ammonal? The answer is simple—this explosive can be provided in our country, in bigger construction companies, in stone quarries, mines, in the police, the army, and so on. It is quite sufficient to check where the famous 20 kilograms are missing.

The second question is—which world's known assassination attempt with explosives cares about killing as few innocent victims as possible? The answer is again—none. The target is always the most important, that is the person that is to be attacked, while everything else is irrelevant. We would like to recall the assassination attempt in Palermo a few years ago, when the Italian state attorney was killed by the Mafia—the result was 20 casualties, half of whom were accidental passersby. There are many such similar examples. On the other hand, the explosion in Skopje on 3 October revealed some substantial differences in the approach itself, which in itself speaks about the character of the assassins. First of all, the quantity of the explosive was accurately chosen, as was the direction (with sand bags), the strict selectiveness in the action, as well as the selection of

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the location on "Makedonija St.," which show that the assassins wanted to have as few casualties and injured among the accidental passersby as possible. This seemingly unimportant detail leads to the conclusion that the perpetrators have emotional feelings, which gives more strength to the assumption that they are of a "domestic production." [passage omitted]

Goods Exported to Greece Bear Constitutional Name

AU1810092595 Skopje MIC in English 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Goods manufactured in the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], which will be exported to Greece, will bear the name of the producer (Made in Macedonia). The Greek organs will put stickers on these goods (Made in FYROM), before clearing them through customs.

The documents of the goods from Macedonia, passing through Greece in transit, which will bear the constitutional name of the state, will be added one more document by the Greek organs, stating that the goods are made in FYROM.

Furthermore, no changes are planned to the privy seals that will be used by the border organs of the Republic of Macedonia. The above serves to deny all speculation that the Government in Skopje is accepting any kind of changes to the name of the state, in the communication with Greece.

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Walesa Interviewed on Developments After 1989

WS1810111095 Warsaw GAZETA SWIATECZNA in Polish 14-15 Oct 95 pp 8-11

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by Agnieszka Kublik, Adam Michnik, and Pawel Smolenski; place and date not given: "The Kaczynski Brothers Talked a Lot of Nonsense"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Michnik] Lech, do you remember when you visited me in Sopot in 1984 and I said you would be president?

[Walesa] If I ever made a mistake in my life, this was the biggest one. Naturally, I do not mean this in the patriotic sense but the ordinary one, humane, down to earth. I have lost everything, my colleagues, my friends, my home, everything.

[Question] You easily won with 40 percent in the first round and 70 percent in the second. You had the backing of a huge political camp and wide social approval. You made various promises—acceleration, the "axe" [sharp division between communist and postcommunist times], driving out thieves with only their socks on, "cleaning" Warsaw. What remained of all that?

[Walesa] Adas [diminutive of Adam], what is wrong with you is that you always remember what you want to remember. You have forgotten that I was the last one forced to present a platform—forced not by the people in the streets, but by the activists. I kept on telling everyone: The president cannot have a platform. What would it look like, how would that fit in with the parliament and the government? So what did the activists say? "What do you mean, a president without a platform?!" In the night preceding the day of the general attack, the platform was developed. In haste, based on wishful thinking and, I am sorry to say, I did not even read it. Just like I did not read the Solidarity platform because I said life would bring a new one.

You forgot one more thing, Adas, and I cannot forgive you for it—that I said I would bring normalcy to Poland, in various situations, unpredictably. My platform is to bring normalcy to Poland.

[Question] It is difficult to vote for a candidate whose platform is a lack of a platform. When I read your statements or listen to you on television, I have the feeling, perhaps unfounded, that you believe all of the achievements of the past six years were yours. Did anyone else do any good over the past six years, apart from you?

[Walesa] Adas, why are you so unjust? Everybody talks about himself. I am only saying I will lead Poland through this storm. Everything else—who is helping, who is paddling—I am not counting that. I am only leading Poland, and, in this sense, I really am taking all the credit. Because we led the Russian troops out, because the debt was reduced, because even though the communists won they in fact lost because they cannot do anything. A lot of people put in a lot of work, but they were not captains. The ship is fine, the horse is fine, and the winner gets the spoils, but it is the rider who counts. This also applies in this case. For five years nothing bad happened. And in this sense also I take all of the credit, although very many people put in an effort.

[Question] Let us talk about these people. The first prime minister you dealt with was Mazowiecki. How would you assess his government today?

[Walesa] He could have achieved a lot if he had not made mistakes. Why did he run against me when he did not stand a chance? Second, after everything was over, he could have remained prime minister. Those are cardinal mistakes, unforgivable, and they have caused more damage. As for everything else, no one has achieved as much as Mazowiecki; maybe only all of the prime ministers combined. But, I repeat, he made two mistakes that eliminate him as an eminent man.

[Question] Bielecki was your prime minister?

[Walesa] Because I did not have a first league, I had to take from the third.

[Question] I hold a higher opinion of Krzysztof [Bielecki].

[Walesa] Yes, with time it is easier to advance from the third league to the first very quickly. Only he began doubting himself, even though he was going in the right direction. He did not have the strength to make it. He could have been prodded on for a bit longer, his cabinet would have been workable with the new parliament, but a quick decision was needed and he fled abroad.

[Question] What does that mean?

[Walesa] When the Bielecki replay was being decided, he went abroad, he sent himself on a delegation. I could not catch him. I tried to reach him through his wife. He simply did not have the will; he gave up. Anyone who gives up is weak. I have to blame him for the fact that his giving up caused the destruction of a certain concept that could have been realized.

Before we go on to discuss that, Adas, I want you to note certain other facts. I said I would try to lead Poland safely through the storms, and I had huge storms raised by three different parliaments. There was the Round Table parliament when I took over as president. It was just after the war with Mazowiecki, so I needed

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guys like the Kaczynski brothers [Jaroslaw Kaczynski, chairman of the Center Accord, and Lech Kaczynski, former head of the Supreme Chamber of Control, currently a presidential candidate] who refused to yield to you, Mazowiecki, the Warsaw parlors and at the same time fought to change the parliament for me. Because the parliament was bad. So I focused on a defense against Mazowiecki and company—and on an attack on parliament. I knew the Kaczynski brothers were very fine destroyers; they do not know how to do anything, but they will destroy. And they destroyed a lot. Only later I was very uncomfortable with the Kaczynskis because they wanted to continue fighting. They do not know how to do anything else. Once they had fought everything, they would have started fighting me, and then they would have started fighting each other.

I therefore had to send them off because freedom had to be defended. Terrible, appalling, obsessive, but freedom all the same. That is how I figured it out—of course, you can believe me or not. Why was Wachowski there? Because he was good at protecting the household, without being aggressive because he is not good at attacking. And the circumstances were very favorable. But then Pietrzyk strikes Suchocka down. I have to dissolve the parliament. And I dissolved it. But then they refuse to listen to me although I am trying to strike an agreement, go to the elections together; they do not listen to me, they are all so conceited. I topple over, the left side wins. I have to change the setup again.

But ha! I have turned many people against me, I offended many people, I had to dismiss them in the end. And now I am slowly trying to devise a group that will try to win. Agreement, people of dialogue, people approved by certain communities. That is more or less what I am trying to work out.

[Question] Lech, I have a right not to understand. I would like to ask about Olszewski. You promoted him to prime minister. A great patriot, an outstanding lawyer.

[Walesa] Yes, we all thought well of Olszewski, just like you. Jan Olszewski was the biggest mistake in my life. Yet I do excuse him. He worked on different terms all his life. He woke up when he wanted, when he did not want to he sent someone in his name. A prime minister, however, has to work 18 hours a day. He is a big sleeper. I like to sleep myself, but he really takes the record. His biological clock simply did not tick in time with this type of job. He is 60 and will not change. I myself cannot change some of my ways. I always carry a screwdriver, for instance. His biological clock broke down. If my reasoning is incorrect, there are two other possibilities: He is a big agent and traitor or a fool. I find it impossible to imagine either is true. Although what he did is unbelievable, how destructive he was and what a threat he created for Poland. No one was as foolish as he.

[Question] You said that Olszewski's and Macierewicz's operation [file reviewing] posed a threat that Poland could have become a second Yugoslavia.

[Walesa] They worked for me for a year: Let them prepare themselves, they would take power sooner or later. That is why I gave them an advisory committee: Get to work, boys, prepare yourselves for future responsibility. After one year it so happened that they did take power. I never thought they were so ill-prepared that they had no idea what power was.

When the whole file reviewing idea was dropped, I thought: Okay, these boys know each other, the lawyer handled documents before so he will do it well. When I found out, it was too late for any solutions. Decommunization and revealing secret agents was necessary, but it had to be done wisely. After they threw the files on the table, they did not know what God would bring. The president was hit and sinking. The Sejm was hit and sinking. The Senate was hit and sinking. Two days earlier the Cabinet got a no-confidence vote—that government simply did not exist. Decommunization and the revealing of secret agents carried out in such a way was terribly dangerous. If I was not confident of what I was doing, if I panicked, somebody could have shot or stabbed someone.

[Question] But that is not yet Yugoslavia.

[Walesa] Wait a minute, how did it start in Yugoslavia! With drawing pictures in the road. Children drew with sticks: Hey, neighbor, do not walk here because you are more black or more white. Then they hung strings, and then somebody hit his neighbor. We could have seen a Balkanization of Polish politics.

[Question] Why did they do it?

[Walesa] It was an attempt at saving the government at all costs. I believe they thought that the government was on a losing position anyway, only that a new one could not be formed. And they wanted to try to do something amidst the chaos. I do not know whether they knew what they wanted to do.

[Question] Remind me whether anyone warned you against Macierewicz when the government was forming.

[Walesa] I thought I could handle him.

[Question] Whom did you tell on the telephone not to have fear and that you would hold him on a short leash? You told me because I was the one who had warned you

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what appointing Macierewicz as head of the Interior Ministry could lead to.

[Walesa] I am very glad you brought that up. I must finish the topic of Olszewski so that you stop going back to it. He has to be held responsible sooner or later. For the Polish-Russian treaty, for Moscow. There are witnesses, [former Foreign Minister] Skubiszewski and a whole lot of others who know the situation very well. As you know, Adas, international treaties are negotiated by experts and the government, not by the president. The same went for the Polish-Russian treaty, which included one fundamental condition: the pullout of the Russian troops. Without the treaty, nobody even spoke of withdrawing the troops.

Skubiszewski reports to me that I have to go to Moscow and sign the treaty. At that very moment I receive information that the treaty is bad. We have a copy brought immediately. I look. It is true, four points are very bad. I summon [Chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission] Bronek [diminutive of Bronislaw] Geremek and the foreign affairs commission: The treaty is bad, I am giving you a good one. Give me a free hand, I know how to do it, I will definitely not sign a bad treaty. I do the same with Olszewski. I will not sign this treaty, but give me a free hand because I have to work it out.

We went to Moscow, celebrated Mass at the Kremlin. I receive an uncoded text: Do not sign the treaty. Holy cow! I say: Jesus Christ, if Yeltsin sees this he will say "Gospodin Walesa, I love you, you have your problems, let the experts get together again and talk." And we would have the same thing we have with the Concordat now. Later on they would not want to sign it, they would stall for time, and their troops would continue to sit here. If I had a gun and Olszewski was standing next to me I would have shot him!

By now I am really going for it. By my own methods I negotiated everything I wanted, on my own, just like I wanted, ideally. We signed it. Skubiszewski still had to sign it, on a bench. He said he had never signed an international agreement on a bench, in a corridor. I negotiated everything.

But to put the state at risk by leaving the troops? Olszewski has to be called to answer for putting Poland at such a huge risk, for such thoughtlessness, for the scandal.

[Agnieszka Kublik] Why do you think they did? After all, they are such nice people.

[Walesa] They said Russia was threatening me, that I would sell out, that I would sign a stupid document. I think that the obsessed [former Interior Minister] Macierewicz told him some nonsense that Russia was threatening me, that I would sign. I had everything prepared. Only how was I to open the negotiations?

[Question] And how did you open them?

[Walesa] I said: "Mister President, do you know what those wise guys went and wrote in those treaties? Sir, there are things in there neither you, mister president, nor I can sign. We will become a laughingstock. Sir, the mess they prepared." And then Yeltsin says: "Well then, tell me..." [preceding words published in Russian]. He opened the negotiations—and that is just what I wanted. I started with the issue of establishing companies in the missile bases. "Sir, tell me, who wrote it up this way? Let us put it differently: Cooperation between Poland and Russia—and we will do everything to develop it—has to be 10 times bigger than it is now. And not: There is a company in Szczecin, and we will start producing terrazzo or air bricks from your materials. Sir, water and sand from Moscow? Gold would be cheaper." And Yeltsin says: "All right." [previous words in Russian]

What did I do with the Armed Forces? They thought: "They want to keep all the bases." I said: "Sir, you will not even be able to keep your own guards. The mushroom pickers will come and take everything away from you. Let us take all the soldiers to one unit, and then you will be able to keep an eye on them." I had everyone grouped just outside Warsaw.

[Question] Lech, what is this document you received from Yeltsin saying he agrees to our joining NATO?

[Walesa] Yeltsin signed a declaration in Warsaw that they would not interfere with our attempts to join NATO and the EU. Then he went back to his hotel and [Russian Defense Minister] Grachev and [Russian Foreign Minister] Kozyrev began questioning the whole thing. A plenary session was held the next day. And they begin turning the whole thing upside down again. I can no longer convince them, I have a headache... And I get mad. So again I use my simpleton method: "Mister President, are you a president or not? How come they are meddling here? They should listen because you are the president, not they." And Yeltsin says: "We shall execute."

[Pawel Smolenski] From what you say it seems you got on very well with Yeltsin.

[Walesa] Not only with Yeltsin. I get along very well with Clinton, I get along very well with everyone. I always accomplish what I have to accomplish. I always succeeded in everything I set out to do. There has never been any exception.

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[Question] But now Russia is saying we cannot enter NATO.

[Walesa] Well then let us thank all those great people from Europe and the world and NATO. On the very next day, when they had the opportunity after I had placed the ball in their court, they should have met and accepted us somehow.

[Question] What type of man is Yeltsin?

[Walesa] He definitely was a democrat, definitely the same type as we—I mean the old guard. But who fires a gun once can do it again. He has already become a slave of certain solutions, such as shots fired at the Duma, Chechnya. That is why I am beginning to fear Yeltsin, and I did not fear him until the very first shots were fired. These things are difficult to stop once they start.

[Question] Because the issue of shooting came up, the Kaczynski brothers said in public that at the time of the Moscow coup you were drafting a letter to Yanayev [one of the organizers of the 1991 Moscow coup].

[Walesa] That is complete nonsens . The Kaczynski brothers always talked a lot of nonsense. They heard the bell ringing, but they knew not in which church. First they were angry that I had called Jaruzelski. I told Jaruzelski: "General, I am the president. Go and tell your colleagues not to make a single move because the situation is dangerous and I, only I, am in charge of everything in Poland." "Yes, sir," he answered. "No one will interfere. I have already issued warnings over the phone, you can check that."

I am a politician, I had to be cunning. I had to watch what was going on, how it was going on and try to win as much as possible for Poland, and do it in time as well. That is why I really did not run very fast because what was the use? I ran so as to make it in time and not to make any mistake. If things had gone differently, I would have come up with other solutions, I have no doubt about that. I decided to play the game for Poland, not for Russia. I therefore covered up for Yeltsin as much as I could, but I did consider the reality.

[Question] That means that the statement issued by the Kaczynskis...

[Walesa] A complete lie.

[Question] And what Bielecki said about your being lost...

[Walesa] Lost, my foot. My computer was working at full capacity and I only watched what to do: Was there a rebound in Poland, was this not an Internationale? I had to put everything in order and do it in time. I could not be late. Now that it is all over I guess you can see everything went well.

You remember I jumped over the fence, but I do not advise you to do that. Because no one will listen to you. You have to know when to jump and why. The Kaczynskis are doubly small. They do not understand that you have to be cunning. They lie when they say things like that—but it did me no harm so I said: Let them go on lying. Haste is only good for picking fleas. I do not think the prime minister should be picking fleas.

[Question] What do you mean? I was fortunate enough to have taken part in all your campaign rallies.

[Walesa] You saw the campaign rallies against [Tadeusz] Mazowiecki, but you did not hear me when I said: "Mister Tadeusz, do not run." And I said: "Do not do this, we have to replace Jaruzelski because I am afraid of Moscow. I do not know what he will do. Maybe not him, but his colleagues." There was panic that something might happen in Moscow and that they would crush us. That is why I had to do it. I was unable to convince Adam [Michnik] and the others that we have to replace Jaruzelski. And when they refused, I said: "All right then, I shall run."

[Question] I clearly remember the words you used and had the impression that the man who is to head my country should not use that type of language.

[Walesa] When in Rome, do as the Romans do.

[Question] I was present at those rallies and I am not a Roman.

[Walesa] You will not be president if you do not have your own principles. If I meet with workers, I have to speak so that they can understand because they are the ones who vote. When I meet with intellectuals, I either have to scare them a little or try to speak like they do.

There is one more thing you do not know. At a certain point I had a conversation with Mister Tadeusz and he refused to be my prime minister only because he expected he would have to do all the hard work while I called the shots and reaped the profits.

[Question] During the election campaign you said: "You will work and send me your medals and thank me."

[Walesa] I did not call the shots, I did not do anything for the sake of popularity. I allowed even the Kaczynskis to bark at me, until today. Only now, when I have to win the elections, I am beginning to do something. Not too much, just enough to win.

[Question] Let us leave the elections for the moment. I feel very embarrassed having to say this. You publicly

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declared: "I am a Pole. I have the papers to prove it." You suggested that people could be divided along racial lines. You persuaded "the others" to declare who they really were.

[Walesa] What was I supposed to say? Everybody knows me very well, they know I was never an anti-Semite. I have no burden. I have never done anything that could be brought against me, that I could be charged with. Yet I was not aware that certain statements could be interpreted in a different way. I had nothing to do with it. Do you understand? Raised deep in the country, I never realized that a sincere statement could be interpreted in such a way. This was the reason I was awkward. Once I thought it over calmly, I realized it was awkward. I had never thought this was such a delicate matter. Now, oh yes, now I am careful. But I was not back then.

[Question] You became careful with Father Jankowski late, as well.

[Walesa] I am a pragmatic politician, and I know there are many people who cannot be treated seriously in our country. Once they find out that the president is going around caressing everyone to death, another priest will come up with something and I will have to apologize again. That is why I said: "Be quiet."

[Question] It was no ordinary priest, Mister President, this was Father Jankowski.

[Walesa] His sermon was so difficult, after 10 minutes I no longer understood what he was talking about. From what I could gather, he was saying something about [chief editor of the NIE weekly] Urban. I was only half listening, I rather prayed. Only two days later somebody started asking. Then he really got in trouble, he sank real deep.

[Question] Lech, what came over Jankowski? He never said those types of things before...

[Walesa] Urban stepped on his toe.

[Question] Urban said far worse things in times of martial law, when he was government spokesman.

[Walesa] In the heat of the discussion this was nothing. Only later, when he began making all the corrections, he said politicians are not born in Stargard, and Jankowski is from Stargard. He made the same mistake I had made in the previous campaign. He simply had no idea that entirely different conclusions could be drawn.

[Question] You cannot compare the Star of David to a swastika.

[Walesa] We can talk calmly now, but in the heat nobody paid any attention. It was best to kill the whole issue, nobody needed it.

[Question] You said that the language you used in the previous campaign was unfortunate. Why are you using it again? Why did you call Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz a hyena?

[Walesa] I forgive certain things, I respect my enemies just like I respect communists who once did something to me—but only if they act with class. If I meet with Ms. Gronkiewicz every month, if she knows I deeply trust her she should not do such things. She should have come to see me and said: "You are a loser, I am going to run."

[Question] What would you have told her?

[Walesa] Even if I had slammed the door, I could not have held a grudge against her because that would have meant she had style. She may claim to be better prepared—the master should be happy when his pupil excels him. Yet there are certain limits. What did "Panorama" [newscast on second television channel] do on Monday? I had a meeting with the primate, just the two of us. I did not even tell the ministers about it, and then I hear on television that the primate promised me he would try to persuade Gronkiewicz to back out. Then the secretary of the episcopate appears and says: "The primate said no such thing." What situation did that put me in? Whose interests did that serve? I am not saying again it was she, only that her supporters played a mean trick and I had no way out. I will fight against such practices and win.

[Question] You said you are happy when the pupil surpasses the master. Who has surpassed you?

[Walesa] There are better chess players, writers, and others. But we are not talking about the fragment, only the whole. We could now return to the fact that I think the next term in office will be even harder than the previous one.

[Question] You said you expect mass demonstrations in the spring and fall, including the taking over of public buildings. Can your potential voter be 100-percent sure that if you lose you will not resort to unconstitutional methods?

[Walesa] You and I have known each other for a long time. You know there are certain things I will do to defend the homeland no matter what. But I will not provoke. These things are not easy to grasp. No one quelled more strikes than I did, and each strike was more difficult than the previous one. Some things cannot be stopped. You have to shoot. Only I know that no

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weakling will do it. And I will do it for the good of the homeland.

Why is this possible? Because the parliament does not represent many social strata. I am questioning it, I want to replace it. I fear that, given the current difficulties and trouble, we might have to solve our problems in the streets.

[Question] We have a parliament that was elected. Dissolving it is a very dangerous game. We would like to ask you about the people who left the Belweder. Such decent people...

[Walesa] I am not condemning anyone. I only know there are horses that run in races and horses that carry loads. I had three parliaments, and various schemes were possible. Wachowski was all right as long as the parliament was free. He is no good at agreements because he is not widely accepted.

[Question] What about [Walesa's former Spokesman Andrzej] Drzycimski?

[Walesa] A very respectable man, but he was no good at fighting. As long as things were calm, I kept him on board. Then I told him: "Andrzej, I need somebody different, move over." But he was stubborn.

[Question] How did it happen that you replaced people so often but Wachowski outlasted them all? Where did he come from, anyway? Why did he make such a fast career?

[Walesa] Why are you asking about Wachowski? He was a good pal.

[Question] Does he still come here?

[Walesa] I do not know. You would have to ask the personnel. Leave Wachowski alone.

[Question] Now I would like to ask you about your favorite in Ursus, with whom you left your Solidarity badge when you took it away from me. I am talking about Wrzodak [Ursus Solidary leader]. How did Wrzodak come to "S"? What social process created him?

[Walesa] Wrzodak cannot do a thing. He can only be carried by the current. Perhaps he will learn with time. He is a young guy and he is pretty gifted at that. He says whatever is catchy and remains on the surface by doing that.

[Question] You are not terrified by the language he uses?

[Walesa] How long can Ursus continue to step out of line? As long as it does not operate according to the usual rules. For the time the situation such as it is because these plants have not been privatized, which creates a favorable atmosphere for Wrzodak. If nothing tragic happens, there will be no Wrzodak soon.

[Question] In a sermon delivered on the 15th anniversary of "S," Father Bogdan Przysucha spoke about presidential candidates. He said the following: "At this historic moment, we need a leader who has not betrayed us, who has proved himself, and whose line of activities is invariable. Such a person is Jan Olszewski, as opposed to the gentleman who has lost our confidence. What I am going to say now I will say with pain because the good of the fatherland is the most important thing: This gentleman is suffering from power. It is the most terrifying illness of all. A man can rate his own ego and his pride higher than the good of the nation."

[Walesa] Who is Father Przysucha?

[Question] The Ursus chaplain.

[Walesa] This means that Wrzodak is totally in control of Ursus. I will have to talk. They told the priest a lot of nonsense. I am convinced that, when I talk to him, he will completely change his opinion.

[Question] Gronkiewicz-Waltz said on Monday that she is supported by 90 percent of the bishops. What do you say to that?

[Walesa] I have not heard anything like that. After all, the church must note that in banks she has not done anything we could thank her for.

[Question] Not long ago you spoke pretty affectionately about Mrs. Gronkiewicz-Waltz.

[Walesa] I totally trusted her. Only now can I see that for two years she has been getting ready to be president; she was sure she would be president.

[Question] Lech, you always said that you have a right leg and a left leg. I would like to ask you whether General Wilecki is your left leg.

[Walesa] No, he is not. I would also like to live in a state where they have come up from an altarboy to a minister and from a corporal to a general. But you need at least 20 years for that. Only five have passed so far, and we do not have other generals. I believe that Wilecki is a good soldier; he has never let me down.

[Question] I get the impression that you are an advocate of the idea of establishing a General Inspectorate for the Armed Forces [GISZ]. Before the war [WWII], GISZ was headed by Pilsudski, and the president was Moscicki. Do you think Wilecki will be Pilsudski when you are president?

[Walesa] I am not fit to be Moscicki. A different class and a different character. Yet, I must lead Poland safely, until an altarboy becomes a minister.

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[Question] Those altarboys are already captains. Before the war, GISZ...

[Walesa] That was before the war, and then the war broke up! That is what you intellectuals have! Well, well, you have read a lot of books, have you not? Adas, it is not a sin, but do not transfer the prewar situation because it does not fit at all.

[Question] Lech, it is a great fault of mine that I have read a lot of books. I would like to know how you see the position of GISZ in the state. Gen. Wilecki, chief of staff, has left the barracks and entered the political scene.

[Walesa] No, Adas. If you had attended a single meeting, you would have seen how we ruined the structures. The military did not play any role in this revolution. For this reason it is ignored. Do you know that this is dangerous?

[Question] I am asking about one soldier only. His name is Gen. Tadeusz Wilecki.

[Walesa] This must be included, just as is envisioned in our regulations. There is the chief of staff and for now he is...

[Question] ...a politician.

[Walesa] No, he is not. He is forced to say certain things because he cannot rescue, he cannot help.

[Question] What will you do if at a dinner in Drawsko the generals decide in a vote that they do not want Wilecki? Or that they do not want you?

[Walesa] No one will vote for this. Here is how I understood this: Generals, even when they were corporals, trained together, went to bunkers together, so they would handle these issues as friends. I received information that an illness destroyed one of the commanders so much that he is so spiteful that he is in conflict with everyone. So here is what I say at that dinner: Is cooperation possible? You people are one organism, only generals. Is there such a possibility?

I even talked to their wives and said: Go do something, I cannot get involved...

And three months or so later, all this deepened even more. I have a conflict in the Army, and I can do nothing about it. So this is what I say: First things first, gentlemen, is there a chance? No, no, no. What shall I do as president so that no one will know about it?

[Question] Perhaps the general was right?

[Walesa] Now, do not joke. Do we have democracy or not?

[Question] There is no democracy in the Armed Forces.

[Walesa] Now we are talking about friendship.

[Question] Those are their affairs.

[Walesa] But I am president, and I can see that friendship is falling apart. I can see lack of cooperation, malice, and deception. The things I dealt with were not military, not constitutional, but human. In addition, I pulled him out because it dawned on me that a general cannot be disrespected. And then he turned out to be a dishonest fraud. In return for my requests, my threats, by favors and my talks with the wives.

[Question] What do wives have to do with the military?

[Walesa] What the hell are we talking about?! I am talking about human issues. There is no military subject. There is only a possibility of human cooperation. Do you understand? Human.

[Question] In the military an order is an order.

[Walesa] The order would have been carried out. But from the human point of view, it was impossible to cooperate. Aside from being president, I am also familiar with illness, toothache, human nature. This was all about different things. I wanted to handle this in a human way, over a drink.

[Question] Because you treat people so humanely... How many people were unable to cooperate humanely with Wachowski?

[Walesa] Who? Who?

[Question] Rybicki, Pusz, Falandysz. They were unable to do this because Wachowski disrespected them.

[Walesa] What else could they say?

[Question] Did they lie?

[Walesa] I do not know. I only wanted to change the political concept—I was unable to work with such people. I only made one mistake. I should have found new jobs for them. I do not know, maybe they should have been appointed ambassadors.

[Question] You would also have found some cushy job for the Kaczynski brothers?

[Walesa] There are places where they could watch the moon.

[Question] And for Wachowski, from the human point of view...

[Walesa] We will see when we win the elections. In Poland there are so many posts in which Wachowski is really excellent.

[Question] Lech, I have to hand it to you: You have won all the wars at the top with colleagues.

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[Walesa] Wait a second, Adas... Who made those wars? After all, Mazowiecki did not have to set up a party when he lost to me. The war began when he began to fight. Olszewski did not have to establish a party, either. Nor did Bugaj. Now, who wanted a war, who benefited from it? Who cut it for himself? Was it I? After all, I had committees as well. I did not leave them for myself.

[Question] Gentlemen do not quarrel about facts. There was a war and you caused it. The statement addressed to Turowicz, the telegram to Wujec, you wrote to me.

[Walesa] No. The war was caused by Niezabitowska [press spokeswoman in the Mazowiecki government]. I read out at some conference that democracy entails a fight among everyone within the iron limits of the law. Niezabitowska said: Walesa declared war where everyone should fight with everyone else. This is how people started to associate the war with me because I really did talk about it.

[Question] Why did you win the war at the top with colleagues and lose the war at the bottom with the communists? The Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms received 5 percent, and the communists won a stunning victory.

[Walesa] Did I really lose? You do not know the facts. I met with "S" here three times. I said: "Boys, you are going to lose! I will win, even though it will be a narrow victory, but you will lose!" Then I wanted to go to the congress in Zielona Gora to convince them. But those specialists invited me to the very end of the congress.

They got 5 percent and I got 5 percent. The "Fatherland" would not have been established, the nation would have given me another 10 percent just because there was agreement. What would I have done after this victory? That is the question. Would I have been able to steer the state with 25 percent support in the Sejm?

I did not lose. The losers are the boys who did not listen to me.

[Question] Lech, you said that you were an advocate of Poland's integration with NATO and the EU. How will you react to the very skeptical declarations regarding those institutions made by the Polish Peasant Party and the Democratic Left Alliance? How will you react to the anonymous letter distributed by Pastusiak? On the other hand, how will you react to declarations made by some rightist parties and by Primate Glemp?

[Walesa] We want to join NATO and this is obvious, only everyone has some reservations. The peasants because they will lose as a result of this process. I do not understand why they should lose—our agriculture is not subsidized and agriculture in the West is; despite that, ours is cheaper. The likes of Pastusiak have other reasons. There is such a saying: "The cap burns on the thief's head." The caps are now burning on their heads. They know that the West is looking at them, that it suspects them... It is a well-known fact—the reds, communists, what they wrote. Therefore, they do not feel good, they would like to survive this period, wait it all out.

[Question] However, there are also rightist politicians...

[Walesa] Poland has preserved Christian values because its conditions were difficult, because it had to refer to those values. Poland does not want to enter [Western organizations] in such a way as to lose them—after all, is it really Poland when it is Switzerland? We must understand certain fears and concerns. Everyone is right to a certain degree. I think that the majority will support the idea. And I will put it into effect.

[Question] In the previous elections, I wondered why I did not want to vote for you.

[Walesa] Adas, say you are sorry. All these things were false. Now you are trying to find more of them. Jacek Kuron...

[Question] Lech, are you reformable? I will vote for Jacek because I believe that he is the best candidate. Can you admit a mistake and let others persuade you?

[Walesa] Even a child will persuade me if he is to persuade me.

[Question] I can believe this. However, will you allow a 50-year-old man to persuade you?

[Walesa] There are certain pieces of information that I have and according to which I act. They can be seen differently from another viewpoint. I have never let myself be guided by mean motives. Therefore, I have not made a mistake, but this goes for this moment only. Of course, in a year's time it may be seen as a mistake.

[Question] Do you believe it is right that the president of a big European country says that the prime minister "lies like a dog."

[Walesa] First things first. No one promised me such loyalty, including my wife. That he [Oleksy] loves me, that, well, in general... On his knees, here on his knees. Well, not exactly, but almost. I received apologies after nearly all of his acts against me.

There are people who are ruthless, and the prime minister is one of them. They have lost Lenin, security services, the Soviet Union. Ciosek [Polish ambassador to Moscow] was a bit loyal, just a bit, but still. This one is not loyal at all.

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[Question] What about Jaruzelski?

[Walesa] Yes, yes. There is some loyalty there. This one does not have any, you must watch your pockets all the time. These are the worst kinds of people I have had to deal with.

[Question] Nonetheless, was it really necessary to talk about it in public?

[Walesa] I was all drained. After all, he pulled such things to me. I can mention that trip to Moscow on the anniversary of ending World War II. He knew very well that I could not go there. He had an invitation in his pocket but pretended he did not. What game is this?

[Question] But you could call it differently.

[Walesa] Before I called it, we had a meeting. Geremek was there as well. I said: Man, if you do not calm down, I will say it, I will do it.

[Question] He wanted to talk with you on the telephone, but he could not get through.

[Walesa] What did he have to say? I would have had to say what I actually said, and I wanted to say it in front of witnesses.

[Question] But Lech...

[Walesa] He apologized to me maybe 10 times in front of witnesses. Then he fired back at me. I did not know how I could pull myself together. There are certain limits. He exceeded them.

[Question] This is why you also exceeded those limits.

[Walesa] That is right. First I mercifully turn the other cheek, but then I act in line with the Old Testament principle.

[Question] Why did you use the legislative initiative so rarely?

[Walesa] Adas, you were not listening to me...

[Question] ...and instead of that, you kept Falandyszizing the law [reference to former Walesa aide Lech Falandysz, who was said to be stretching the law] and moving on the borderline of the law.

[Walesa] Adas, did you like it when a lawyer who was attacking you was presenting you in such a way that you were a veritable devil? And another one defended you and made an angel out of you—on the same principle? I spoke about interpretation, to defend the reforms.

I had three parliaments. The first one—I did not need this initiative because I would have lost anyway.

[Question] In the first one you would not have lost.

[Walesa] You know how inconvenient it is to jump in from the sidelines. The second parliament was elected democratically, but I did not shoot because I would have been accused of showing off. Now, in turn, I am trying to do something, but they keep rejecting. It is no use.

[Question] How did you overthrow the Pawlak cabinet?

[Walesa] If my advice had been taken... After those follies of Macierewicz, the situation was such that Pawlak agreed to be prime minister, and the whole government would have consisted of the Union and "S." Then Geremek and Mazowiecki ask me: Sir, you have done so much. Leave this alone because it looks so bad, so undemocratic. We will do the rest.

Tadeusz began to examine whether or not straws stuck out of Pawlak's shoes. And this boy: "You do this, I will take one minister." So they make a break. And they examine him again. He says: "One more minister to the government." Then the whole government wanted to appoint him because he started to say that they were trying to make a fool of him. This lad is not stupid. What would the situation have been like if the government had been formed by the whole "S" and the peasants? The wisest people screwed it all up. You failed to notice this.

This is when Pawlak was hit. He lost vigor, began to be suspicious. And I did not have a minister of foreign affairs, I do not have a defense minister... I wanted to scare him real good. I thought he would come again and we would talk like a Pole with a Pole. But he fired at me right away—with Oleksy. Kwasniewski accepted this choice immediately. Pawlak destroyed my whole idea; I did not have executive powers to change all this.

[Question] Mr. President, what if you lose to Kwasniewski?

[Walesa] There is no such possibility. I have not used all of my powers yet. I will win easily, very easily.

I am afraid of only one thing. There are two permanent electorates: Kwasniewski's electorate, which is disciplined, and Tyminski's. It consists of those small drunkards, small bricklayers, those who are fired. And they stick together in a way. They really vote for one person. I thought it would be Lepper. And this is a dangerous electorate. It constitutes 20 percent of all voters. The question is who will take over this electorate.

[Question] Lech, what if you had to choose between Kwasniewski and Lepper?

[Walesa] You know me better than that. You know that I would act like you. I am able to distinguish fools from opponents with a certain style. I am a man who would

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like the situation in Poland to be good. I know enemies that should be respected, and I know friends who are worse than enemies.

Deputy Prime Minister Interviewed on Defense

WS1710124095 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 6-8 Oct 95 pp 1-2

[Interview with Professor Aleksander Luczak, Polish deputy prime minister, by Jerzy Markowski and Janusz B. Grochowski; place and date not given: "Poland's Reality and Possibilities"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [POLSKA ZBROJNA] The government, and actually the coalition of the Democratic Left Alliance and the Polish Peasant Party, are still suspected of pro-Moscow leanings and of lacking a real desire to join the Western military structures. These doubts have recently been reinforced by the proposal to hold a discussion on the costs of joining NATO as well as by the belated reaction of President Yeltsin.

[Luczak] It is actually the Polish raison d'etat that is often understood one-sidedly. I do not know about any statement by a member of our Cabinet that would undermine Poland's desire and determination to join NATO. However, there is more to the issue than merely Poland's stand and whether some people tend to support this or that direction of our cooperation quite considerably, whereas others do not. It is also a question of what approach is adopted by our foreign partners. Nonetheless, one sometimes feels that the West is waiting it all out: When Russia submits its objections, there is no unequivocal reaction that Poland's membership is already a foregone conclusion. As long as Moscow's objections are treated as very serious signals, this will make Poland's situation more complex. We already have been in situations when our confidence in Western guarantees was betrayed. Let me say this bluntly: If the Western structures are prepared to expand, they must give a clear signal and be consistent. We are consistent in our intentions, and we expect the same from our NATO partners. Therefore, we expect definite signals in response to the warnings or even threats that have come from various Russian politicians in recent days. We also expect the West to finally put an end to the speculations that the date of our integration into NATO may be haggled over or that it could be changed as a result of some other concessions made at the expense of Poland.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Membership in the organization involves duties as well. One cannot be sure whether our budget is prepared for that, particularly if we look at the level of spending for defense.

[Luczak] The slogan itself is too little. It must be analyzed in the context of Poland's reality and possibilities. It is a great burden to us because, after all, we will have to change almost all of the equipment of our Armed Forces and adjust them to Western standards. We will also have to prepare officers and soldiers for actual cooperation and communication. A great effort has already been made in this area. If the West wants to expand NATO, it should also be willing to take action to help us get ready for full membership in the organization in the material sense. Of course, there are such signals, but they are too weak and they do not always dispel the doubts that arise from time to time. It is with approval that we received the plan, resulting from the so-called Hank Brown amendment adopted by the U.S. Senate, which envisions support for Poland's activities.

Aside from the necessary modernization of the Armed Forces, an important element of the state's defense system should also be the extramilitary institutions, whose task it will be to provide conditions for the activities of the Armed Forces and for the functioning of the other structures of the state. The intensity of the economic integration and the inflow of Western investments to our market will not be less important than the financial resources earmarked directly for the Armed Forces.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] In the recent NATO report, which assessed the situation in East and Central European countries, there was a statement that civilian control in Poland is nonexistent. Civilian control is, after all, one of the most important conditions of our membership in NATO.

[Luczak] Civilian authority over the Armed Forces is formally guaranteed. In practice, however, we have received a few signals that various opinions on this issue were expressed and that reservations were voiced regarding the real influence of the parliament and the government on everything that is related to the operations of the Armed Forces. However, one cannot underestimate the desire for such control to be exercised. Yet this cannot always be actually seen in practice. Important factors here are also the aspirations, character, and different interests of the people who exert influence on the military. This raised doubts whether this control over the Armed Forces is fully efficient. I believe that it would be beneficial for the democratic transformations in Poland and to the mental health of the Armed Forces if the control existed not only formally, but also in reality.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Unfortunately, the legal situation is such that the president has probably successfully vetoed the law on powers prepared by Sejm deputies. He found only one defect there, yet the defect was quite

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considerable. What will come next? Will there still be doubts regarding "who is calling the shots here"?

[Luczak] The current deadlock in this area is certainly related to politics. However, at the same time it is another test of the efficiency of the democratic mechanisms that are being set up now. Please do not forget that the formation of managing structures in the area of defense and security depends not only on the work on the new constitution, but also on all the problems related to the broadly understood reform of the "center."

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Perhaps politicians, including those in the government, who are waiting for the presidential elections, the constitution, or some other things, simply do not have the necessary will to provide a final solution to this problem.

[Luczak] I believe that, in the time we are talking about, this also plays a role. The election campaign is not conducive to resolving this problem.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Is it possible that the Armed Forces might be a subject of political gamesmanship in the presidential campaign?

[Luczak] I am far from making such accusations. I believe that the military should draw conclusions from history. I think that, as a result of its involvement in the previous political system, many soldiers were and still are deeply frustrated. This is a process that was not at all finished on 4 June 1989. There still is the generation that was brought up in the previous system and whose behavior was stigmatized with the political character of the Armed Forces. The process of changes is difficult, even painful. However, I cannot really understand those who are getting involved in politics again and are thus impeding the process whose purpose is to enable the military to acquire a fully apolitical character.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] One can hear opinions that the government is paying too little attention to defense problems.

[Luczak] That depends on how you look at it. If we look at how much time we have devoted to these issues, how many sessions were held, you might come to the opposite conclusion. However, it is not words but efficiency that is important. Unfortunately, we have spent too much time and energy on the most fundamental issue—that is, the financing of the Armed Forces. For many months, disputes over this issue prevented the possibility of adopting many other solutions regarding the Armed Forces and the defense system. Nearly all of the sessions of the Committee of Defense Issues of the Council of Ministers [KSORM] that have been held so far were devoted to this problem. It seems that, even though they do not fully satisfy military circles, the most recent decisions made by the Council of Ministers have finally put an end to the long, drawn-out discussions.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] What stand will the government take on the presidential draft law on the guaranteeing of financial resources to the national defense, and when will the government do it? The first reading of the bill was removed from the agenda of the Sejm because, despite many hours of discussion, the government failed to take a uniform stand. This was caused by differences of opinion between the National Defense Ministry [MON] and the Finance Ministry.

[Luczak] This issue is related to budgetary provisions. The sense of this discussion boils down to the conclusion that one cannot look at the military budget without taking into consideration everything that surrounds it.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] However, there is also a Sejm resolution that recommends that the government increase spending on defense to 3 percent of the gross domestic product [GDP].

[Luczak] I believe that it will not be possible to fulfill this recommendation in 1997. I think it is reasonable to reach this level over a longer period of time. The government does not underestimate the armament and training of the Armed Forces. However, we are also under pressure on the part of senior citizens, the health service, the education sector, as well as scientific circles. These problems must also be taken into account when the needs of the military are discussed. Of course, we must not shake the defense system of the state. Yet we must say openly that thanks to the detente that has occurred in the world, our borders are now safe, and it would not be justified to spend more money on the military than the state can actually afford.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] You are also the chairman of the Scientific Research Committee [KBN]. You will be one of those who will decide how much money should be earmarked for the implementation of the three research projects: "Loara," "Grom," and "Huzar." They concern new types of equipment and were approved by the Pawlak cabinet. This year they have been financed almost exclusively by MON. The ministry claims that it will have no money for the projects, which require 80 million zlotys.

[Luczak] Various establishments must cooperate in order to ensure implementation of governmental strategic projects. In line with decisions made by the Council of Ministers, MON plays the leading role in this area. KBN cofinances and will continue to cofinance certain projects, but it would be advisable if MON were a more active coordinator of the entire process.

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[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Is it not an active coordinator?

[Luczak] The leadership of the ministry is unable to change its view on this; the leaders believe that the Armed Forces should receive as much money as they demand because otherwise we will not implement any reorganization processes, and we will lag far behind other countries as far as our equipment and training are concerned. They say that for these reasons we are threatened by a paralysis. At the same time, discussions on the functioning of the Armed Forces are confined to the military circles, which I consider a bad thing. There are too few initiatives that would persuade other ministers to acknowledge the necessity of cooperating with MON. It always boils down to that 3 percent of the GDP and to heated discussions on this particular subject. However, as I see it, not enough attention is being paid to such issues as the composition of the Armed Forces, the Republic's defense strategy, and the resolution of problems related to powers.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Who should deal with those issues? After all, KSORM, which you chair, consists of very competent people.

[Luczak] Yes, it does indeed, but there are also other structures that go to considerable lengths to defend their independence and their areas of operation. We have the National Defense Committee, which consists of entirely different people. We also have the National Security Office, where important decisions are made. Efforts to coordinate their activities have been only partially successful.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Too many cooks spoil the broth. It is difficult not to get the impression that in fact KSORM cannot do much. What exactly is its role, then?

[Luczak] KSORM's role is precisely specified in a relevant governmental resolution. One of the reasons for establishing this organ of the Council of Ministers was lack of appropriate coordination between the ministries responsible for the state's defense and security. Even though not much time has passed since KSORM was set up, thanks to it and to its standing teams, many problems have been formulated in such a way that now it is possible to provide comprehensive solutions to them. In addition, coordination has improved in the area of monitoring, analyzing, and assessing the economic aspects of Poland's defense. Recently we have also seen intensified activities aimed at synchronizing the program of technological modernization of the Armed Forces with the restructuring of arms and aviation industry plants.

As part of its statutory activities, KSORM examined and recommended to the Council of Ministers the following legal acts, which were then submitted to the Sejm of the Polish Republic:

—the law on the billeting of the Armed Forces;

—the law on state reserves;

—the law on special trade with foreign countries;

—the law on amending the law on the military service of professional soldiers and on changing some laws;

—the law on managing some parts of the property of the State Treasury and on the Agency for Military Property;

Intensive work is under way on laws, especially the law on military duty and defense duties.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] However, there is far less information on KSORM sessions than other governmental communiques. Therefore, it is looked upon as some mysterious institution that deals with issues that are not clearly specified.

[Luczak] I also believe that communiques issued after KSORM sessions do not provide very precise information on the problems discussed there. This is partially due to the subjects we deal with; they are not only confidential, but even top secret, and for obvious reasons not all things can be discussed in public.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] The main principles of our security policy and the Republic's defense strategy were approved in 1992. Only three years have passed since that time, but a lot has changed. There are rumors that the coalition wants to exchange [as published] these documents.

[Luczak] The coalition is not the only one thinking about this; as far as I know, the defense minister, who is not a member of either of the coalition parties, is going to submit his proposed amendments to these documents. He is going to allow for the passage of time and the current situation, the state's financial possibilities, external conditions, and our striving for NATO.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] We understand that you are in favor of such an amendment?

[Luczak] I certainly am.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] The Americans recently proposed what Kozyrev called a bribery attempt: a revision of the Paris-Vienna treaties on conventional arms reduction in Europe. What is Poland's stand on this issue?

[Luczak] It has not changed. We have accepted these decisions, and we are consistently implementing them, even though it has turned out that this reduction was very expensive for Poland. I personally believe that we began this liquidation of equipment surpluses a bit too

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early. This equipment could have been sold to other countries.

At this point, I would like to break the stereotype regarding military equipment trade. For many arms-producing countries, including Poland, this is a good method of obtaining financial resources and strengthening the economy. Of course, just as in many other trade areas, in this area there is great competition; however, there are also rules, set by international organizations, first of all by the United Nations, which Poland definitely observes.

Dispute Between Oleksy, Bartoszewski Reported

WS1810114795 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Oct 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Ma.S.: "MSZ Head: I Am Prepared To Work but Not Under Any Conditions; Government Spokeswoman: Some People Lose Their Composure"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Foreign Affairs Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski said yesterday that "in several important cases" the prime minister had blocked appointments of under secretaries of state and ambassadors. "I can perfectly imagine that I could run the Foreign Affairs Ministry [MSZ] without constant educational supervision," said the head of the Polish diplomatic services. Government Spokeswoman Aleksandra Jakubowska termed the "very sharp opinion" expressed by the minister as a political statement that was related to the fact that the presidential elections are drawing closer.*

Aleksandra Jakubowska supposes that Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy will ask Minister Bartoszewski to explain at the next session of the Council of Ministers (i.e., probably today) what exactly he had in mind when he leveled such grave charges at the prime minister.

What exactly did Minister Bartoszewski say? His opinions were reported yesterday by the Polish Press Agency.

The foreign affairs minister believes that his interpretation of his powers is different from the prime minister's. According to Bartoszewski, Oleksy believes that the MSZ head can present his ideas, but the prime minister makes the decision, and only then can the president make an appointment. Bartoszewski says that the fact that the prime minister voices such strong opinions regarding appointments in the diplomatic services is a "precedent not known anywhere in the world." The head of the Polish diplomatic services stated: "I support even those who worked in the diplomatic services in the time of Khrushchev—if they are good professionals; I can prove my objectivity."

He added that two-thirds of the ambassadorial candidates that he proposes are former members of the Polish United Workers' Party.

He gave an example of the prime minister's blocking his decisions: the vacant posts [as published] of the ambassador of the Polish Republic in Rome, even though the candidate's name was submitted in May. The government press spokeswoman said that some people are losing their composure and added that she was surprised that such a strong statement was made at this particular time, even though, according to her, recently nothing very important happened.

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Iliescu Interviewed on Results of U.S. Visit

AU1710193695 Bucharest DIMINEATA SUPPLEMENT in Romanian 10 Oct 95 p 4

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Romanian Television correspondent Nicolae Melinescu in Bucharest on 5 October: "Live Interview Granted by Romanian President Ion Iliescu for Romanian Television"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Melinescu] Mr. President, to begin with, what were your impressions of the meetings with President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore?

[Iliescu] This was not our first meeting, so we proceeded straight to the heart of the matter, with discussions on the development course of Romanian society and the development of bilateral relations taking place in a very open, friendly, and obviously realistic atmosphere.

[Melinescu] When President Clinton saw you out, he told you something. What was that?

[Iliescu] He wished me success.

[Melinescu] You also met with the secretaries of finance and trade last autumn. This year, aside from Messrs. Rubin and Brown, you also met with Defense Secretary William Perry and you were also invited to visit the military base in Norfolk, Virginia. What significance do you attach to this part of your schedule?

[Iliescu] I believe that it reflects the good relations that have developed with the United States within the Mil-to-Mil program—direct relations between the two armies—and within the Partnership for Peace [PFP]. I was able to note a similar approach from the other side; as a matter of fact, I praised the content of this U.S. initiative to show equal opening toward all Central European countries and eliminate the discriminatory elements, which cropped up in certain interpretations of the way in which NATO should be expanded to Central Europe, in an attempt to create certain priorities. My hosts reiterated the U.S. Administration's perception that NATO expansion should not lead to suspicions and distrust in the area, but, on the contrary, it should lead to stabilization. These aspects made up the topic of our discussions, and I consider my meeting with Secretary Perry and my visit to the Norfolk base general headquarters as significant.

[Melinescu] Do you believe that after your talks on security and military matters, our country has drawn closer to NATO?

[Iliescu] Yes.

[Melinescu] What will happen now?

[Iliescu] First of all, we will consolidate our extant framework. The PFP offers a favorable framework for further rapprochement and mutual communications, as has been agreed upon. Secretary Perry and his military aides expressed particular praise for the Louisiana exercises, where the Romanian platoon cut a very good figure. One of the problems we raised was the very different communications equipment of the NATO member countries and the PFP states participating in these drills. But then, appropriate technical solutions were found to ensure the necessary intercommunications, despite the different equipment. Therefore, we must consolidate this framework of relations at the PFP and bilateral levels and also help to promote organizational and structural reform in the Army.

[Melinescu] The economic aspects took up an important part of your discussions with the relevant officials, as well as with businessmen and company managers. Did you note any intentions to accelerate U.S. investments in our country?

[Iliescu] You are right, the economic subjects dominated our conversations this time, too. Even in the discussions with the Administration officials, we pointed to the positive development in the past two years. It was enough for the most-favored-nation [MFN] clause to be approved by Parliament two years ago and the volume of trade exchanges jumped up to double of its previous level. The U.S. businessmen have shown an incomparably greater interest in our possibilities. In all the meetings I had with prominent companies, businessmen, and bankers in Washington and the West Coast, I pointed to this growing interest in contacts and negotiations to expand cooperation with the Romanian partners. Of course, in the conditions of the market economy, we do not concretely tackle such problems; not even the ministers to that. However, it is important to give a political signal and this signal was very openly given by both sides. The main thing is, as I have already said, the interest shown by the U.S. companies in Romania and in coming and investing in our country. I even had the pleasure of meeting with many company representatives who already had contacts or are in the process of negotiating with Romanian partners. Therefore, I believe that we can be optimistic.

[Melinescu] What effects can this more intensive relationship have on the economy, in general, and the man in the street and his daily life, in particular?

[Iliescu] We have approached all these things in a very realistic manner during all our discussions in the United States. We did not go there to show off or to beg for alms. This is not the case when it comes to economic relations. What primarily counts are interests. In our stage, they appreciated the progress made by Romania in the past two years to bring about an economic

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recovery. However, we emphasized that this recovery is still in an incipient stage and that it is a positive signal, compared with the very dramatic situation in which the Romanian economy found itself in the four years after the revolution, with the year 1993 marking the most difficult moment. We also pointed out that we are making very great efforts to stabilize the economic situation, which has already set in. The privatization process is being carefully followed, as a major signal of the promotion of the economic reform, which will reach a peak point next year, when the private sector becomes predominant in the economy.

Therefore, we emphasized that we are still far from a good situation in the economy, where we are being confronted with two major problems: the financial blockage and the effected of the prolonged inflation of the previous years, with its social impact on the population. We also pointed out that the population's purchase power has substantially decreased even compared to the situation prior to the revolution. Consequently, the process of renewal and recovery, in which privatization is a component part, and the need for economic restructuring are decisive for us. But this cannot be done without broad international cooperation. The relationship with the United States is important from two viewpoints: The United States is a particularly important potential market, as has become apparent in the last two years, and it will also become an ever more substantial and interesting partner for us. The United States has already become the second trade subpartner for us, after the EU. Second, the entire program of industrial and economic reconstruction and of promoting peak technologies cannot take place without cooperation with partners, which are strong from an economic and technological viewpoint. The U.S. economy has great potential and the U.S. partners are the promoters of technological progress in today's world. Therefore, we must see this relationship as a decisive element of the efforts we must undertake in our country.

[Melinescu] There was a different perception and reaction toward Romania in Washington this time. I am referring, on the one hand, to the government-administration circles who have a more dynamic and flexible attitude toward developments in Romania; on the other hand, I am also thinking of the legislative and parliamentary circles who are slightly slower in reacting to developments in our country. To what extent did your dialogues in Washington manage to draw the two positions closer to one another and thus shorten the distance between the two sides?

[Iliescu] You are right. The administration is better informed, since the direct links between the two Foreign Ministries—I am referring to the links between our ministry and the U.S. State Department established by the two embassies—means that the U.S. Administration should be better informed about realities in our country and the steps we are taking. On the other hand, the congressmen inevitably have lesser contact with these developments and are influenced by the information fed to them, which can be both information and disinformation. Nevertheless, we adopted an open position and discussed without reticence all the problems raised by the members of the Senate or the House of Representatives, all the topics raised by them in connection with certain complicated problems of our process of change, as well as certain information, which I believe has distorted the real state of affairs. I believe that this dialogue was pertinent and useful. We parted from our dialogue partners on friendly terms and we mutually promised each other to communicate more frequently and directly. It is also our duty to supply more thorough information in this respect.

[Melinescu] Your schedule was very heavy. You also managed to participate in discussions of a more theoretical nature. I am thinking of the Council for Strategic and International Studies in Washington and the Rand Institute in Los Angeles. How realistic did you find the way in which these analysts and political experts perceive the realities in our country and the Balkan area?

[Iliescu] These are very serious research and study centers, which use an ample and complete documentation to produce very thorough analyses. But it is inevitable that different viewpoints should emerge within these circles, too, and we were able to note certain unilateral positions regarding the issue of NATO's expansion and the topic of the integration of all countries within NATO at the same time, namely that a differentiated approach should be adopted in this respect. We pointed out that we have a much more constructive framework at this time, namely the PFP, which opens up equal chances for all countries. It is a good thing to consolidate this principle. To introduce certain elements of a differentiated approach at this stage of the analysis can only feed suspicions and tensions in the region. I believe that this message was well received.

[Melinescu] You devoted a whole morning to meetings with the specialized international bodies on financial-banking problems—I am referring to the World Bank and the IMF. You also signed a new accord on supplementary credit. What effects will the new accords have on the Romanian economy and when?

[Iliescu] We attached great importance to these meetings, because the four international bodies—the IMF, the World Bank, the European Bank, and the Group of 24—have actually been our sole partners in this pe-

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riod. We did not have the good fortune of Hungary and Poland, which, due to the fact that they already had foreign debts, had access to further investments from the trade banks, something that did not apply in Romania's case. The fact that we had no debts did not prove a very favorable asset at such a difficult time in our history. We also did not have Germany's [East Germany] good fortune to receive nonreimbusable assistance in huge quantities, inconceivable to us, something like four times the value of the Marshall plan. This assistance has been concentrated in a single country, smaller than Romania, for a duration of five years. We pointed out this aspect, too, apropos certain opinions about the pace of the reform in Romania. Our message was well received. We had to work in much more difficult conditions with our own forces, at a cost which is still being borne by the population.

Therefore, the talks with the IMF and the World Bank were useful for the current stage of relations among us, for the stage we are entering, and for the support we need in promoting the current stage of privatization and restructuring of our national economy. These negotiations ended with the signing of an accord with the World Bank, which supports this program and the reform in our country, as well as an agreement with the IMF on finalizing and expanding the standby accord on backing our economic activity in the future.

[Melinescu] What problems still exist in the political, military, and economic dialogue with the United States?

[Iliescu] I noted that there is a general concern with the future stability in this area, particularly the way in which things will evolve here—which is a strategic, military, political, and economic concern—the stabilization of the democratization process in the Russian Federation, and the stabilization of the overall economic processes or economic reforms. We expressed similar thoughts and stressed once more that we value this approach of the NATO leadership and the United States, namely that NATO's expansion is in no way aimed against Russian or other countries. Likewise, we consider the expansion of our relations with West Europe, the integration in the European and euro-atlantic structures, and our relations with the United States as not being directed against anyone, least of all against Russia. We are interested in maintaining a climate of good neighborliness with Russia and developing our bilateral relations in the future, to the mutual benefit of our countries.

[Melinescu] After your visits and meetings with the academic circles at the Washington University in Seattle and the California University of Los Angeles, do you believe that more students from Romania may hope to study in the United States?

[Iliescu] I also met with students and youngsters doing postgraduate studies in both Seattle and Los Angeles, on the basis of scholarships received from U.S. institutions. I was glad to note that good cooperation has developed between the two Seattle universities, on the one hand, and the Romanian Academy of Economic Studies and the Polytechnics Institute, on the other, in business and management improvement courses. Likewise, the California University of Los Angeles told us that it has inaugurated a research nucleus on Romanian problems within its center of studies for Central Europe and the former Soviet space. I also met with the teaching staff and students working in this complex on studies about Romania.

Hungary's Keleti Favors Compatibility With NATO

AU1810081695 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 9 Oct 95 pp 1, 3

["Exclusive" interview with Hungarian Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti by Monica Szlavik, place and date not given: "Even If Hungary Did Not Wish To Join NATO, It Is in Our Interest To Fulfill All Conditions of the Adherence To Integrate in Europe"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Gyorgy Keleti has been Hungary's defense minister since 1994. Before that he was the spokesman of the same minister and maybe that is why he knows how to make himself agreeable to the press. What is the result of this? In a short time he has become the most popular political personality in Hungary. A few days ago, his Romanian counterpart and, at the same time, his friend Gheorghe Tinca concluded his official visit to Budapest. On that occasion we asked Minister Keleti to answer exclusively some of our questions and he agreed. We note that this brief interview would not have been possible without the assistance of Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Emil Suciu, the assistant of the military attache at Romania's Embassy in Budapest, who is greatly familiar with the Romanian and Hungarian languages.

[Szlavik] Lately, there has been increasingly more talk about achieving the interoperation capability among NATO member countries and the partner states that are signatory to the Partnership for Peace. How difficult is it for Hungary to reach this standard and how long do you think it will take you to become capable of interoperation?

[Keleti] It is as difficult for us as it is for any other country that used to belong to the former Warsaw Pact, because within that pact there were other tactical principles, other activities at the level of Chiefs of Staff, and other relations of cooperation between officers. The common language was also different, let alone

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the mean of combat technology. Our current goal is to achieve certain development programs—Romania also has those programs—to, for example, direct air traffic and communications. But all these are future programs. They cannot be archived from one day to the next, either because of technological or material reasons. What we have to do now is to achieve good results in learning foreign languages, that is, in learning the English language. Likewise, we must take over certain standards, for example in cartography, in currently used military symbols, and in accepting and learning that NATO philosophy which the North Atlantic alliance has been using for a long time in the area of planning and directing the battle. In this respect, we carry out a serious activity, which certainly is accompanied by certain commitments and concrete requirements.

[Szlavik] Recently an idea has appeared, circulated by Brussels officials, to have an EASTERN EUROCORP set up that would include soldiers of the Hungarian, Romanian, and Slovak Armies. What is your opinion about this intention?

[Keleti] Currently, one can hear many things in Brussels, as well as in other towns. However, as long as the involved countries do not make official statements in this respect, it is not worth concerning ourselves with such matters. I believe that the most important thing for Hungary is to fulfill the obligations to which it has committed itself through the individual Partnership for Peace program. It is very important to achieve this compatibility, both in the field of military technology and the area of mentality with the other armies included in NATO, if indeed we wish to become NATO members.

[Szlavik] What do you think could be the arguments in favor of Hungary's entry into NATO?

[Keleti] There are political, economic, and military aspects in this respect. First of all, we must become a democratic state, a parliamentary state, with a multiparty system, with market economy, and attain the civilian control over the Army, achieve the openness of the budget and of military expenditure, and achieve good neighborly relations and economic reform. I believe that even if we did not wish to join NATO, it is in our interest to achieve all this. Only in this way can we integrate in Europe.

PD Head Sees Advantages at Recent NAA Meeting

AU1810081595 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 12 Oct 95 p 3

[Report by MEDIAFAX on statements by Democratic Party President Petre Roman: "Freezing the Acceptance of New NATO Members Could Be in Romania's Advantage"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Petre Roman, the president of the Democratic Party [PD], said, upon return from the session of the North Atlantic Alliance [NAA] held in Turin, that the process of NATO expansion toward Central and East European countries will become a reality at the end of 1998. Petre Roman, special rapporteur of the NAA Commission for NATO expansion and new democracies, confirmed the stagnation in the procedure of accepting Central and East European countries in NATO for 1996, the year of presidential elections in the United States and Russia. This respite in the race of the aspiring countries for association in NATO could be in Romania's advantage, given the fact that 1996 in Romania is also an electoral year, said the PD leader. He mentioned that, at the new start for association estimated for 1997, the associate countries will proceed from equal footing, because the criteria for acceptance in NATO will be reevaluated at that time. There will be discussions regarding the invitation to become NATO members for each case separately and the commitment of the aspiring country, the internal democracy, and the military and economic compatibility with NATO countries will be taken into account. Therefore, Petre Roman believes that Romania must come up with a superior standard of democracy and freedoms after the 1996 elections to occupy a favorable place in 1997 at the reopening of negotiations. Romania must also profit from the elimination of differentiations between the Visegrad countries and the other East European candidates in admittance into NATO, an idea that was confirmed at the meeting in Turin, said Roman. These ideas made public by Petre Roman are based on the speech made by NATO Secretary General Willy Claes on the NAA's plenary resolution, on 9 October, and on the resolution of the NAA political committee.

The NAA final resolution, adopted on 9 October, will be submitted by the end of this year to the approval of the NAA Council, which includes only member countries. As regards the position of the Russian delegation, this systematically opposed all proposals regarding East Europe, stated Roman. The Russians had a negative attitude, not only toward the expansion of NATO's sphere of influence but also in general about improving the activity of the Alliance, said the PD leader in conclusion.

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SRI Claims Cernavoda Plant Sabotaged by Spies

AU1710203695 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13 Oct 95 p 10

[Article by Lucian Cristea: "The Secret Services Are Investigating the Situation at the Cernavoda Nuclear Plant Building Site"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Currently representatives of the secret services dealing with domestic issues are investigating the situation existing at the building site of the nuclear electricity plant at Cernavoda. As we already reported not so long ago the [Parliamentary] Panel Exerting Control Over the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] presented in Parliament an ample report on the stage reached in the erection of that important economic objective, also making reference to the causes—just some of them, of course—that generated disruptions that led to delays in rendering the first reactor operational. The panel also questioned Dumitru Popescu, the minister of industry, Petru Crisan, the minister of trade, Victor Romert, the director of RENEL [Romanian Electric Power Authority], as well as the directors of the Cernavoda CNE [Nuclear Electricity Plant]. The names of the latter had been specified in the SRI's 1994 report, as the ones who caused delays in starting the electricity-producing unit No. 1. Meanwhile the existence of major irregularities at the building site has been signaled by other sources as well, including by the press, both in view of the discipline such building work presupposes and regarding certain environmental problems. Luckily, in the report presented in Parliament, the secret services evinced and denounced the discipline-violating acts, which seem to have leveled the way even for certain espionage actions! By supplying certain pieces of information, some individuals intended to provoke unfavorable reactions and delay the beginning of operations of that national-interest objective, as well as create difficulties for Romania to cooperate with foreign partners, including on third markets, with possible negative consequences for our national economy. Another hot issue consists in the irregularities in the importation of heavy water. No doubt, as we have already warned in the articles we published on this issue, something is rotten at Cernavoda! Of course, there has been a great deal of comment on this aspect, which naturally did not miss the opportunity to refer to the possible political background of the issue. For instance, they mentioned certain hidden interests of the Canadian party. Others saw a connection between the pressure exerted by Miron Cosma [leader of the powerful coal miners' trade union in the Jiu Valley]—who thinks that if the Cernavoda CNE starts running many miners might be fired—and the series of postponements we have been witnessing over the past years. As the elections are drawing nearer, one cannot ignore the fact that Miron Cosma has promised President Ion Iliescu that the miners will vote for him. Anyway, we will see clearer by the end of this year, when—following a one-year delay—the first reactor is scheduled to be connected to the national electricity network. Aside from all the suspicion and espionage actions, one finds it astonishing that not a single word has been said about the condemnable way in which the Romanian Government earmarked the funds necessary to finish the Cernavoda objective. Similarly, deep silence is kept about a different very grave aspect, to which—accidentally or not—some politicians did refer over the past days, namely the massive exodus of the experts who have left Cernavoda to go to work in other countries, including in Canada! Should we really believe that not a single person, and we are referring to the members of the government and the RENEL leadership—has noticed this anomaly, which, in our opinion, cannot be ignored!? But let us return to the money issue by pointing it out that over the past 15 years the lack of funds has permanently obstructed activity on this building site, where work is practically blocked, causing greater losses than all the spies targeted by the SRI could have ever done. We do not intend to engage in petty speculations, but no matter from which angle we look at it, we end up in the political field. Quite unfortunately, as in the case of other important national-interest economic objectives, such as the Danube Delta, for instance, here too the political interests of the rulers prove to be more than devastating. One can say this because the problems at the Cernavoda CNE are not unexpected ones, which cropped up overnight. The irregularities discovered currently represent the sum of the irregularities which have been accumulating over the past years. And only now, when the situation has become critical, does General Director Marculescu begin to act more incisively and ring the alarm bells. Besides the fact that he might have waken up too late, Mr. Marculescu now realizes that even if he had done so earlier, there would have been no one who would listen to him!

ROMANIA LIBERA EDITORIAL NOTE: Following our reports on the "placing under arrest" of physicist Gabriel Pascu on a platform of the North Railway Station and his having been submitted to "emergency interrogation," recently he was summoned by the General Prosecuting Magistracy, this time in the normal way, by means of a subpoena, for further questioning. We remind our readers that Mr. Pascu is accused of espionage! Naturally, we are eager to learn about the conclusions reached by the investigation bodies.

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Federal

Milosevic, Holbrooke Confer on Peace Process

LD1810111095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1030 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 18 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and U.S. envoy Richard Holbrooke agreed late Tuesday [17 October] that the current peace efforts were aimed at turning the truce, which went into effect on Oct. 12, into a stable peace.

The aim is also to find political solutions that will normalise life and relations so as to primarily protect freedom and equality of all citizens, said a statement issued by the president's office after talks with a U.S. negotiating team, headed by Holbrooke.

The talks focused on preparations for the final stage of the peace process for Bosnia-Herzegovina, the statement said.

Milosevic and the U.S. team agreed that a consistent respect of the Bosnia agreement on an overall ceasefire was vital for further headway in the peace process, the statement said.

Accordingly, the remaining outstanding issues, including the territorial division of Bosnia-Herzegovina, should be solved at the conference table rather than on the battlefront, the statement said.

The statement also stressed Yugoslavia's firm position that an end to the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina must mean an end to the sanctions against the country.

UN's Stoltenberg To Withdraw from Peace Process

LD1710222795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2213 GMT 17 Oct 95

[By Borislav Lalic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New York, Oct 17 (TANJUG)—United Nations peace mediator in the former Yugoslavia and co-chairman of the international conference on former Yugoslavia Thorvald Stoltenberg is to withdraw from the peace process in the Balkans, a reliable source told TANJUG Tuesday.

According to the source, Stoltenberg, one of the key figures in the peace process, will leave in early November at his own request most likely to resume new duties.

Stoltenberg was frequently mentioned in U.S. media in the past several days as a possible replacement for NATO Secretary-General Willy Claes.

The possibility of Stoltenberg's withdrawal was mentioned immediately after U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali announced that his special envoy for the former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi would withdraw from the peace process.

European Union peace mediator David Owen, who with Stoltenberg cochaired the Geneva-based international conference on the former Yugoslavia, resigned earlier this year.

Stoltenberg is expected to be succeeded as U.N. mediator for the former Yugoslavia by U.N. Undersecretary Kofi Annan, who will also be taking over from Akashi as the U.N. secretary-general's special envoy for the former Yugoslavia.

Annan will also act as U.N.-NATO coordinator in Bosnia after a new multinational peace force replaces U.N. peacekeepers.

These changes prove that the internationol comminity's focus in the peace process in the Balkans is shifting from the United Nations to NATO and Washington.

Opposition Assails Muslim-Croat 'Offensive'

LD1710193395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1853 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct 17 (TANJUG)—The opposition parties in the F.R. Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) assessed on Tuesday that the continuing Muslim-Croat offensive, supported by the regular Croatian Army, against the western parts of the Republika Srpska (RS, the state of Bosnian Serbs), is representing the direct threat to the peace process.

President of the Yugoslav board of the League of Communists—the Movement for Yugoslavia (SK-PJ) Ratko Krsmanovic told a news conference that the Muslim and Croat army attacks on the RS, following the latest ceasefire accord, 'seriously devalue the results of the accords in Geneva and New York in a way that does not go towards the sincere endeavours for bridling the forces of war in the Balkans.'

He made it clear that the current military pressure on the Banja Luka region and Banja Luka in fact was the 'pressure on the actors of peace and fresh crime against innocent civilians.'

In Banja Luka and Prijedor, according to reports by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), there are more than 185,000 Serb refugees from the occupied areas in the west of the RS.

Croatia is the biggest obstacle to peace because it is 'bringing to an end the most cruel ethnic cleansing according to Nazi patterns,' said Krsmanovic and warned that those were illusory assurances which say peace would begin to reign in the ethnically cleansed territories.

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The international community, if it wants peace, will have to threat with force or sanctions to bring the Muslims and Croats to their senses to halt the offensive they had begun—Ivan Kovacevic, spokesman for one of the biggest opposition parties, the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), said to journalists.

As for Croatia's demands for a peaceful reintegration of eastern Slavonia, Kovacevic holds that 'Croatia has no right to such demands until it integrates refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) who must be enabled to return to their ancestral homes.'

After Croatia's aggression against the RSK towards the beginning of August, the northern and southern parts of the RSK were fled by more than 250,000 Serbs, while several thousands were killed and their houses looted or burned down.

President of the Party of Muslim Democratic Action (SDA) Rasim Ljajic (the party which is active in Raska, the region partly situated in the Yugoslav republics of Serbia and Montenegro and in which Muslims account for more than half the total population) said in Novi Pazar on Tuesday that he believed a peace agreement on Bosnia would be made before long because this agreement is wanted by the United States of America.

Sainovic, Chinese Delegates Hold Talks

LD1710193995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1820 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 17 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Vice-Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic and a delegation of the city of Beijing agreed on Tuesday in Belgrade that there are good conditions for promoting cooperation between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and China in all spheres.

The Beijing delegation, headed by the president of the city's political-consultative conference, Wang Daming, is in Belgrade for a several-day visit.

Sainovic said that friendship between Belgrade and Beijing symbolizes the good relations between the two countries. He said that Yugoslavia is following with satisfaction China's strong economic development, the Yugoslav information secretariat has said.

The talks were also attended by China's ambassador to Yugoslavia Zhu Ankang.

The Beijing delegation also visited Belgrade's chamber of economy. Speaking with Belgrade businessmen, Wang Daming said that the Chinese Government is greatly interested in economic cooperation with Yugoslavia.

Wang said that Beijing businessmen are interested in importing building materials and foodstuffs from Yugoslavia, and exporting household appliances there.

Army Tests Combat Readiness in Vojvodina

LD1710170595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1627 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 17 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav First Army command is testing the combat preparedness of some of the Novi Sad corps units in Srem and Backa (Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina), the Yugoslav Army General Staff said in a statement on Tuesday.

Infantry, artillery-rocket and armoured-mechanized units of the Novi Sad corps are holding a joint live-ammunition exercise in the region, with the participation of some air force and anti-aircraft units and river warships, the statement said.

The exercise concentrates on the coordination of joint actions of the different purpose units, in accordance with the principles and possible ways of using the engaged units, the statement said.

Good initial results of the test confirm that the commands are well trained and that the participants in the exercise are highly motivated, the statement said.

Serbia

Official Comments on Impact of Sanctions

LD1710132395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1644 GMT 17 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 17 (TANJUG)—Serbian vice-prime minister and republican science and technology minister, Slobodan Unkovic, said on Tuesday that the U.N. sanctions and the war in the country's proximity have inflicted huge damages to Yugoslavia, but that even in such a situation the country's resources and experts have been preserved.

'The Yugoslav and Serbian leaderships are making superhuman efforts to secure a peace in this region and the lifting of the sanctions,' Unkovic said in the town of Jagodina, central Serbia, at the opening of a system for the purification of waste water.

'We believe that an end is in sight to the sanctions and the war,' he said.

The facility for the purification of waste water is the biggest communal and ecology investment in Serbia whose construction over the past four years cost 12.5 million German marks.

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Unkovic said that the system, which was constructed with 80 percent of domestic technology, is the best confirmation that in the hardest moments its was possible to preserve the resources and experts.

Human Rights Group Alleges Refugee Roundup

AU1710140395 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Oct 95 p 8

[Report by V. Simonovic: "This Is Abduction"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A few days after they register with the Serbian Red Cross, men, who together with the latest wave of refugees and expelled persons, looked to Serbia for security and peace, find themselves illegally mobilized, the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia warned recently, and added: The Serbian Interior Ministry appears at their door—the addresses are known only to the Serbian Red Cross—and they are taken in an unknown direction.

"Mobilization Models"

This is just one of the "mobilization models" for Krajina residents who hoped for salvation in Serbia, according to the data that the Helsinki Committee has been receiving daily for the past 10 days. The latest "catch" employed by the Interior Ministry, the Helsinki Committee claims, is to round up refugees from Belgrade cabs. Namely, owing to frequent threats of police raids in city transportation, refugees have tried to avoid mobilization by travelling in cabs. Moreover, mobilization along Serbian roads has also been reported; eye witnesses tell of six police checkpoints on the road from Belgrade to Novi Sad. For those refugees who look as if they are capable of military service, this means six risk points from which they can be taken in an unknown direction. Nevertheless, the most frequent means of mobilization involves knocking on the doors of temporary residences, the committee's activists point out.

According to the increasingly frequent influx of information into the Belgrade seat of the Helsinki Committee at Obilicev Venac, the majority of refugees mobilized in this way are taken to Bosnia or to the lines facing the Croatian Army without much ado. At the same time, maltreatment is more a rule than an exception, complain the few victims who have managed to avoid the fate of becoming cannon fodder on the fronts. They are no infrequently "due" for beatings; cases of death induced by beatings have been reported, the organization for the protection of human rights warns the public.

In the period of time between the place from where they are taken to the front line itself, the police assembles them in Volga Street, where two buses wait until they are full (this takes about nine hours): following this, they are taken to Erdut. They arrive there hungry, claim the forcefully mobilized people, and "are met by colonel Raznatovic", commander of the Serb Voluntary Guard. The words with which either he of the "welcoming committee" address the newcomers are extremely unpleasant and harsh: "You defeated army! Traitors!" Everything else follows subsequently; without any particular preparations they are taken to the front lines. Only there are they issued a weapon. At no point does the distrust ease. [passage omitted]

New Political Movement Formed in Subotica

AU1710140595 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Oct 95 p 7

[Report by Slavica Lakicevic: "A New Existence for the City"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The week in Subotica's political life was marked by the celebratory promotion of the Yugoslav Democratic Movement, which was formed out of the municipal councils of three parties: The Federal Party of Yugoslavs, the Bunjevci-Sokci Party [Bunjevac—Croat inhabitant of Backa, Sokac—Catholic inhabitants of Backa, Srem, and Slavonia], and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The movement is an answer to those who want their own schools, theaters, media, cultural associations, territorial and personal autonomy. Following the first and the second multiparty elections, Subotica had the misfortune to fall prey to divisions initiated by ethnic parties. Thanks to them, the "most Yugoslav city" in the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia was ruled by Hungarian-Croatian authorities whose main concern was and continues to be the realization of programs of those parties whose primary interests are those of their ethnic group. [passage omitted]

'Political Nature' of Workers' Strike Assailed

AU1810072095 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 17 Oct 95

[Commentary by Dusko Petrovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Political forces that do not want a peaceful solution to the crisis on the territory of the previous Yugoslavia and economic and social stability within the country because, if peace arrives and sanctions are lifted, they would definitely disappear from the political scene in this country, have yesterday again shown their real face when some workers of the firms belonging to the Belgrade metal processing complex gathered in front of the Federal Assembly building. This is an unambiguous conclusion based

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on demands and slogans issued that were of a purely political nature and far from a social, workers' one.

Of course, we do not wish or intend to deny the right to strike, as it is one of the regular means of protecting workers' rights. However, one should differentiate this right from its misuse, and differentiate protest within factory walls to more quickly solve some issues from the methods of going out in the street and using pressure which in fact conceal political aims and demands.

The Government of the Republic of Serbia headed by Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic, together with chambers of commerce and commercial banks, has so far fulfilled its share of obligations regarding the Belgrade metal processing complex and not only it. This can be seen in the fact that not a single factory belonging to this complex has been closed down, that the number of workers whose production can be sold on the market is up, and that all workers who are presently without jobs are receiving assistance.

Therefore, these methods of pressures and street demonstraations are unacceptable, because internal problems in any factory which imply straightening out problems with idlers and incapable management, that is, trade union leaders with politicking intentions, must be solved within factory walls. This is all the more so as a large majority of workers is sincerely respecting the objective difficulties in which the entire state is, due to the inhuman sanctions, something which, as could be seen yesterday, as well as in today's letters of support sent to the prime minister, cannot be seen behind the demands that belong to extremist and retrograde political forces who want to use the current difficulties in the said firms for some of their political aims.

Prime Minister Marjanovic and his cabinet yesterday clearly stated that the government has no intentions of yielding to pressures and threats and that it is not going to meet a single demand that would involve the primary issue, because that would again cause hyperinflation that would worsen the workers' standard of living.

In this firm stand, the Republican Government also enjoys the clear support of the Yugoslav National Bank. The government has also clearly shown that it will endure in its aim to use economic measures and realistic sources to ensure conditions to protect firms and their capacities in the metal processing branch, as well as other branches, despite all difficulties caused by sanctions. Together with the Federal Government and the National Bank, it will also persist in efforts to stop price increases and have them reduced through economic measures whereever they were increased without economic reasons.

The Government of Serbia has not been in a confrontation with workers and it will not be so. However, it is against idlers and the people who want economic issues to be solved in the street and through political pressures, because economic and social stability represents key support to the peace process, its successful outcome, and the lifting of sanctions soon.

Montenegro

Commentary Views Nation's 'Slovenization'

AU1710160095 Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Oct 95 p 3

[Article by Vlado Micunovic: "Directors of 'Slovenization'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ever since one flurry of euphoria started abating in Serbia, another has begun which, in a simple version, looks like this: "Hey, you Montenegrins seem to want to secede like the Slovenes."

If we go along the stream of this accusing and arrogant torrent, we will reach its source, namely some political centers which can by no means accept a state without the absolute domination of Serbia. Seized by the unrealistic ambitions that they have to determine how people will live in every corner of the common state, they declare every move of the Montenegrin leadership which does not agree with their conception to be a fatal mistake.

True, there is another tendency to incite the Montenegrin leadership with words of praise to the "rescuing secession from Serbia," whereas, in fact, these people only wish to use Montenegro for the ousting of the Belgrade regime.

In the campaign of the spreading of fear of "the 'Slovenization' of Montenegro," even routine moves of the Montenegrin leadership are put under suspicion, moves which are perfectly natural and oriented towards a democratic, political, economic, cultural, sports, and other aspects of the emancipation of Montenegro within Yugoslavia. Not to talk about the panic when we here have a different version of a problem (privatization) or when decisions are criticized (the unpaid legal obligations towards the Pensionist Fund of Montengro, the disregard of the agreed distribution of energy, the strange incident of this summer when tourists from Macedonia were stopped at the border....), which provoke direct consequences in Montenegro.

In their public addresses, Serbia's leaders very openly—which for our circumstances is not usual and maybe even exaggerated—warn of every detail which might cause disagreements in the functioning of the federal state. Why is this seen as the crowning evidence of

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selfishness and alleged striving for independence, rather than as the wish to clear potential problems in time and without prejudice—that is a question which is not hard to answer.

Political brokers, well-known experts for another sort of experiments, by an exchange of theses, declare this resistance to subordination and underestimation as "pressure against Serbia and the federal state" and "political blackmail in order to ask for an ever-growing price for their participation in the common state, which at one moment costs more than the thing itself."

A tendency to represent the coexistence of Montenegro and Serbia in such a banal way comes from the lack of knowledge or a wrong understanding of their past and their close relations. Respecting those facts, a huge majority of the citizens of Montenegro opted for a common state. If the Montenegro regime had wanted secession, then three years ago it was a very favorable moment to say farewell to Serbia and Yugoslavia. Since that was not done at that time, it is illogical to think that those very people would today start an adventure for which they are being more and more criticized.

The thesis that Serbia's interests can be seriously endangered because of the alleged selfish behavior of the Montenegrin state leadership is logically untenable. Differences in the size of the territory, number of inhabitants, and economic strength are so big that the smaller federal unit can in fact by no means harm the bigger. However, in the opposite direction the problems and the dangers are quite possible.

If this is true, the story goes back to the beginning—to the "general, national issues." If they exaggerate, they might start stifling the specific features and interests. If national-romantic enthusiasm grows in Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia once more, Montenegro will, with no blame of its own, be more and more accused of "Slovenization" and maybe serve as a compensation for failures on the national plane.

Kosovo

Current Issues Viewed by Rugova, British Minister

AU1810080195 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 12 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President of the Republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, received today in Prishtina [Pristina] Sir Nicholas Bonsor, minister of state at the British Foreign Office. He was accompanied by Mr. Ivor Roberts, charge d'affaires in the British Embassy in Belgrade, and his aides.

After having extended his appreciation for the visit, President Rugova briefed the British minister on the current overall situation in Kosova, the unabated Serbian repression and violence. President of the Republic of Kosova asserted the expressed political will of the Kosova people for independence. Kosova as an independent and neutral state, open to Albania and Serbia, is the optimal solution to the Kosova issue, President Rugova said. He said he had demanded from the international community the placement of Kosova under an interim international civil administration, for it would avert a conflict and create conditions for a negotiated solution to the Kosova issue.

Dr. Rugova said the people of Kosova—being committed to a nonviolent policy—has demonstrated its willingness to a dialogue with the Serbian side, under international mediation, which would lead to the settlement of the Kosova issue. President Rugova said he hoped Great Britain will help finding a solution to the Kosova issue, as it is well acquainted with this issue.

Minister Bonsor told President Rugova that his government was concerned about the situation in Kosova. This situation should be solved through talks and negotiations, the British minister of state, Sir Nicholas Bonsor, said in the meeting with President Rugova of Kosova.

Albanian Leader Calls For Rugova Resignation

AU1710181295 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 8 Oct 95 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Rugova's Retreat"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Adem Demaci, one of the leading ethnic Albanian leaders in Kosovo and Metohija [chairman of the Pristina-based Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms in Kosova] has directly called on Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, to step down from all his functions.

Pristina ZERI has published the second part of a wide-ranging interview with Demaci, in which he accuses Rugova and his faction of irresponsible behavior and incompetence, claiming that he is responsible for the generally bad position of the ethnic Albanian community in Serbia.

In support of his allegations he cites three major incidents of irresponsible behavior by the current political leadership, which has been leading the ethnic Albanian secessionist movement in the past years. The first is the proclamation of the so-called "constitutional declaration," the second is the proclamation of the so-called "Kacanik constitution," and the third is the holding of unlawful elections, at which the assembly of the phantom republic was designated, and Rugova appointed its first chairman.

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"Those who voted for those acts have fled, while the witnesses of the spectacle, that is, the journalists, have stayed only to be arrested," Demaci says, repeating his political philosophy that those secessionist acts cannot be realized without victims and constant disorder.

Demaci publicly suggests to Rugova that he should take in his advisory body Mahmut Bakali, Redzep Cosja, Azem Vlasi, Veton Suroi, Ilijan Kurtesi, although he does not believe that the careerist mediocrities around Rugova would accept that.

Serbs Confiscate Ethnic-Albanian Library

AU1710164595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No 724 and 725 on 12 and 13 October carries several reports on the arrest of several Albanian party leaders and "constant Serbian police harassment" in various areas.

KOSOVA DAILY REPORT No 724 on 12 October notes that "the reading halls of the Prishtina-based National and University Library of Kosova have been turned into a Serbian Orthodox school." The local Serbian daily JEDINSTVO reports on 12 October that "the fourth generation of students have been attending classes in the library now, the tutors being Serb priests from Prizren, Prishtina, and Belgrade." The report further continues: "Following the Serbian illegal takeover of the Kosova Library, the Serbian regime embarked on an outrageous campaign of devastation of its property. Thousands of books, newspapers, and unique copies of the Kosova National Library have been reported either recycled or transferred to Serbia or unknown destinations. In the courtyard of the library, which is part of the University of Prishtina campus, the construction works of a Serb Orthodox shrine have been underway for almost three years now."

Another report on 12 October says that the principal and the educational advisor at the local elementary school in Cikatove village in Glogovac have each been "sentenced to 30 days in prison." The Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) Information Commission in Glogovac reports that "the two teachers were arrested on 6 October by the Serbian police" and "sentenced in summary proceedings" at the Serb-run Magistrate Court in Glogovac, charged that "they had engaged in dealings with the school property without having priory consulted with the authorities." The real fact was that "the school management has recently sold the bricks of an old building of the school to a local resident."

Another report on the same day says that on 6 October, "about half a dozen Serb policemen raided the Rilindja Elementary School at Dobrashevc village, breaking up classes and harassing teachers and schoolchildren."

It is also reported that the Serbian police on the morning of 12 October detained an activist with the LDK Youth Forum in Gnjilane. The report says that "during a three-hour interrogation," the activist was "ill-treated" and "threatened to quit her political activities." She was ordered to report back to the police station and "deliver her passport under the pretext that she had visited Albania earlier."

Under the "pretext of arms searches," Serbian police in Skenderaj "raided" the homes of two Albanians from the villages of Runik and Vojnik on 2 and 4 October. "No arms were reported found, yet family members were reportedly harassed on both occasions."

Reports say that the Serbian police on 12 October detained Maksut Sadiku, presidency member of the Unikomb (National Unity) Party in Vucitrn, who was interrogated "for over a couple of hours and released under the condition that he reported again to the police."

KOSOVA DAILY REPORT No 725 on 13 October reports that on 11 October, the Serbian police in Fushe Kosova detained Gjergj Dedaj, chairman of the Liberal Party of Kosovo (PLK). The PLK Information Service says that Dedaj "was halted on the Prishtina-Fushe-Kosova road" and, after "having had his car thoroughly scrutinized, he was apprehended in the police station in Fushe Kosovo for over one hour." Reports note that Dedaj was "interrogated about his political activities" and was subject to "psychological ill-treatment and provocations."

Another report on 13 October says that "Albanian residents of Cabra village, the only Albanian village in the municipality of Zubin Potok in north-west Kosova, have over the past weeks been subjected to harsh Serbian police expeditions." The LDK Information Commission in Zubin Potok notes that over the past two weeks, the police "raided" the homes of "half a dozen" families and arrested five Albanians on several occasions, who "were brutally ill-treated at the police station." However, they "failed to report their cases" as the police had "threatened with harsh retaliatory practices if they did so."

It is also reported that on 13 October, the police detained Agim Hasani, local LDK branch secretary at Cabra, and took him to the police station in Zubin Potok. Sources in Zubin Potok say that Mr. Hasani had been "likewise detained for a couple of times over the past weeks" and "interrogated over a meeting he had earlier with a Swedish delegation, being on a fact-finding

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mission regarding some Albanians recently repatriated from Sweden."

Albanians Accuse Serbs of 'Blatant Lies'

AU1710154695 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 13 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Serbian-installed occupying authority in Kosova has over the past five years been playing as a mere proxy to Milosevic's rule here. In Kosova, where Albanians amount to over 90 percent and Serbs to hardly more than half a dozen percent of the country's population, the Serbian puppet authorities have through a heavy Serbian police and military buildup cracked down on Albanians, posing thus as nothing but executors of the Milosevic's outrageous policies. One of the top Milosevic's proxies in Kosova, Aleksa Jokic, so-called governor of the "Kosova District" (a phantom territorial arrangement advance by the Serbian regime in Kosova aiming at fragmentation of the Kosova's ethnic, territorial, and constitutional entity!) has spread blatant lies with regard to Kosova and its reality in a meeting he had on Wednesday [11 October] with secretary of state in the Foreign Office of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, Sir Nicholas Bonsor. Serbian local daily JEDINSTVO quoted yesterday (12 October) Milosevic's "governor" in Kosova, Mr. Aleksic, as asserting that the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia does not undermine the territorial and cultural autonomy of Kosova (sic!), adding further that "naturally enough, the Albanians, who make up 12 percent of the entire population in Serbia, can in no way be granted the right to self-determination and secession." A couple of lies and inconsistencies inhere in Aleksic's statement: Serbian pro-government daily POLITIKA carried the same day (12 October) an article in which—referring to "Yugoslav" statistical authorities, which, needless to say, can in no way be sympathetic to the Albanians—it is said that Albanians make up 16.5 percent (1,714,768) in "Yugoslavia" (that is Serbia and Montenegro!). The very same statistical picture denotes that Montenegrins make up 5 percent of the population of "Yugoslavia." Yet, Montenegro is a republic, a federal entity, accordingly 5 percent have the right to self-determination and secession, respectively!

Aleksa Jokic went further in his lie-promoting scheme by alleging that 150,000 Albanians have a job (presumably in the public sector) in Kosova, namely 60 percent of all those who have a job in Kosova. No more than 50,000 Albanians have a job in the public sector in Kosova. Over 130,000 Albanians have been kicked out of their jobs in the early nineties by the Serbian regime. A third barefaced lie is that 90 percent of the patients uses medical services in the state (public) healthcare facilities, that is the Serbian-run medical system in Kosova. It is a commonplace fact that only those having a job with the public sector (currently in the Serbian regime's hand) can enjoy the medical and social-welfare benefits. In the case of Albanians in Kosova, only those 50,000 and their family members are entitled to that right. So, how could it be that 90 percent of the patients in Kosova use medical services in the Serbian-controlled medical system? Aleksa Jokic's statement is an offhand and absurd slander. In the aftermath of his talks with the British diplomat Nicholas Bonsor, Serbian "governor" in Kosova, Aleksa Jokic, said in a statement that "we (he himself and Sir Nicholas Bonsor) share the view that (Kosova) is an internal affair of Serbia and Yugoslavia" and that "the problems which have been discussed should be solved by the authorities with the citizens who recognize those authorities."

As the Kosova Albanians do not recognize Serbian authority in Kosova, one is to conclude that Serbia will try to "resolve" the problems in Kosova with Serbs and probably a handful of "decent" Albanians—as are the Albanian quislings referred to in the official Serbian regime's terminology. This is, in short, how the Serbian occupier wishes to see the 2.2 million Kosova nation "settled" as a Serbia's dominion. Kosova and the Albanians have got their own will, which emanates from and inheres in the position Kosova has occupied through history in the Balkans and in the aftermath of World War II in the former Yugoslavia: a self-governing entity.

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